A LEVEL HISTORY NOTES

AFRICAN NATIONALISM

PAPER ONE (P210/1)

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Course outline

1. The factors of the growth & development of African nationalism
2. Italo-Ethiopian crisis (1935-1941)
3. The Egyptian revolution 1952
4 .The nationalization of the Suez Canal 1956
5 .The Rwanda revolution 1959, Rwanda genocide (1990-1994)
6 .The Zanzibar revolution 1964
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8 .Nationalism in Kenya: Mau Mau Rebellion (1952-1955)
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i. Ujaama policy
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10 .Polisario in Western Sahara (1973 – 1976)
11 .Regional groupings

- East African community (E.A.C) - ECOWAS
- OAU/AU – SADC
- COMESA – pan African movement (PAM)
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2. Nationalism in Portuguese colonies – Angola
   Mozambique,
   Guinea Bissau ,
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- Nationalism in southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)
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14 .Military coups

Case studies ie 1952 in Egypt , 1963 – Togo

1971 coup in Uganda – 1965 – Congo Algeria

1969 in Libya, 1966 – Nigeria

1966, 1972, 1978, 1981 in Ghana,1971- Uganda

1980 Liberian coup, 1972- Ghana

1974 Ethiopian coup etc. 1975 – Nigeria

1979 – Uganda

15 Nationalism in Uganda

- The kabaka crisis (1953 / 1966)
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16 Civil wars and secessionist movement in Africa

- Nigerian civil war
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17 Political parties and multi-party politics in Africa

18 African culture (abuse &preservation)

19 African problems & solutions

- Unity & disunity (religion & ethnicity)
- Refugee crisis in Africa
- Famine
- Urbanization
- Unemployment
- Neo – colonialism

References

1. National Movements & new states in Africa by Ali Mazrui & Michael Tidy
2. A history of Africa since 1915 – 1995 by Assa Okoth
3. The state of Africa by Martin Meredes
4. Others include African journals & magazines
5. Talk shows

Definitions of African nationalism

1. African nationalism is the patriotic struggle of Africans to be socially politically & economically independent from European rule

According to Prof Mazrui, African nationalism is African quest for nation hood or statehood

FACTORS 4 THE GROWTH & DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Internal factors;

1. Colonialism and its negative effects influenced the growth of African nationalism. These negative effects included over taxation, forced labor land grabbing (alienation). These were common in Kenya highlands, Algeria, southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These policies angered the African nationalists to struggle for their independence.
2. Existence of independent African states led to the rise of African nationalism. These countries included Ethiopia that was under a strong leader emperor Menelik11 the second who gave a bloody nose to the Italians at the battle of Adowa in 1896. Liberia was protected by U.S.A not be colonized. These countries inspired the growth of African nationalism.
3. The rise of independent African church movements influenced the development of African nationalism. The churches which had been setup by the white colonialists practiced a lot of racial discrimination like Africans were not allowed to become clergies regardless of their level of education, therefore were condemned to take back seats in church. The leaders of these churches included Charles Domingo, Chilembwe in Southern Rhodesia & Malawi who led the Africans to oppose these churches hence African nationalism.
4. The role of Christian missionary education influenced the growth of African nationalism. These Christian missionaries setup schools like in Uganda Trinity College Nabbingo, Mt St Marys College Namagunga, Mwiri College, Mengo Senior School, Namilyango etc. These schools produced a class of elites such as Dr. Milton Apollo Obote, Kirunda Kivenjinja, Kintu Musoke, Jabel Bidandi Ssali who provided leadership at the time of independence.

5. The formation of political parties led to the growth of African nationalism. These parties included ANC (African national congress) in South Africa, MCP in Malawi, RDA in Ivory Coast, UPC in Uganda, TANU in Tanganyika. These political parties united the masses, sensitized them about the cause for independence and enlightened Africans about their fundamental rights leading to the rise of African nationalism.
6. The role of the mass media and the press influenced the development of African nationalism. The African nationalists came up with newspapers such as Accra evening news founded by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, west African pilot founded by Nnmadi Azikiwe ,many magazines came up to attack the colonial masters , Gamel Nasser of Egypt setup Radio Cairo which inspired African to rise up for their independence.
7. The impact of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis of 1935–1941. The crisis was an invasion of Italy under Benito Mussolin when he attacked Emperor Haile Sellasie. This confrontation was condemned at the continent of Africa, it united the Africans across the continent, it was criticized through demonstrations even in the diaspora by Nkrumah at the streets of London. It militarized African nationalism through the formation of Black Lions movement in Ethiopia (BLM) leading to the growth of African nationalism.
8. The Brazzaville conference of 1944 led to the rise of African nationalism. This conference was organized by the French leader called Charles De Gualle to thank the Africans for having assisted France against Germans during WW 1I. The conference abolished forced labor, laid a foundation for the formation of political parties like RDA in Ivory Coast, increased African representation in the French parliament, agitated for African education hence laying a foundation to the rise of African nationalism.
9. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism/Apartheid in South Africa in 1948. The Apartheid policy was introduced by Dr. Daniel Malan when he won the elections against the united party of Dr. Smuts. The policy was discriminative in nature, it attracted international sympathy, and it made Africans through the front line states & OAU to condemn the policy leading to the rise of African nationalism.
10. The impact of urbanization in Africa since 1946 led to the growth of African nationalism. African countries witnessed massive emergence of towns as a result of increased economic activities. Some of the industries were set up by the colonial masters to revive their economies in areas such as Dakar, Accra, Cairo, Monrovia, Johannesburg among

others. These towns created a class of job seekers due to rural- urban migrations, slum development and a class of intellectuals who attacked the colonial masters leading to rise of African nationalism.

11. The impact of the Algerian war of independence 1954–1962. This war was led by Ahmed Ben Bella, Ferhat Abbassi against the French. The Algerians were able to unite and fight the French colonial masters, The Algerians solicited for support from USSR and Egypt, they formed the FLN (a liberation movement) which encouraged other Africans to adopt the same strategy in that search for independence.
12. The impact of the Mau Mau Rebellion of 1952-55 led to the rise of African nationalism. This was an armed conflict between Africans in Kenya and the British. Despite the defeat of the Kenyans, it increased the African demand for independence and compelled the British colonial masters to establish reforms like land, reducing taxes and influenced the people of Tanzania to demand for independence.
13. The independence of Ghana in 1957 influenced the growth of African nationalism. Ghana got independence under Kwame Nkrumah who established the Accra evening newspaper which spread anti-colonial sentiments in Africa, he convened the Accra conference in 1958 to bring all nationalists together to form the radical parties like CPP in 1949 that encouraged other countries to do the same and he mentioned that 'Ghana's independence is meaningless unless the continent was free from colonialism'.
14. The restoration of Ethiopian independence in 1941 led to the rise of Africa nationalism. Ethiopia had lost independence in 1936 under the Italian rule that forced the emperor to go to exile. In 1941, the emperor mobilized the Europeans eg the British to chase the Italians. This therefore inspired the struggling Africans to mount pressure on colonial masters in order to follow the path that Ethiopia took.
15. The impact of the independence of Guinea Conakry in 1958 led to the growth of African nationalism. Guinea got independence under Sekou Toure after being assisted by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. This forced France under Charles De Gaulle to organize a referendum where people of Guinea voted to get independence. This inspired other countries to demand for independence eg Guinea Bissau in 1974.
16. The Egyptian revolution of 1952 led to the development of African nationalism. The army officers overthrew the government of king Farouk who was serving the British

interest and a puppet king. The army officers ie Gamel Nasser setup Radio Cairo that was used by Africans like the Mau Mau fighters, Egypt gave asylum (protection) to African nationalists like Ignatius Musaazi from Uganda, Patrice Lumumba from Congo, Egypt gave education scholarships to Africans hence leading to the rise of African nationalism.

17. The formation of the organization of African unity (OAU) in 1963 influenced growth of African nationalism. OAU was formed with a cardinal aim of unity. The body set up a liberation committee with headquarters in Tanzania to extend financial and military support to Africans like in Zimbabwe, Angola, South Africa. OAU also demanded for the release of political prisoners in African countries leading to the rise of African nationalism.
18. The role played by African artists/MDD influenced the growth of African nationalism. They composed revolutionary songs that appealed to the souls of Africans to oppose colonialism. Through MDD, the evils of foreign rule were exposed and this attracted international sympathy Like Lucky Dube, Brenda Fassie.
19. The impact of the Macmillan speech of 1960/wind of change led to the rise of African nationalism. Macmillan was a British prime minister who addressed the South African parliament at the cape. He warned British colonial masters to quickly organize for reforms and grant Africans independence. He talked about the irreversible wind of change that was blowing across the continent demanding independence. This forced Africans to demand for independence
20. The role of the West African students union (WASU) in 1945 led to the rise of African nationalism. These students included Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, JB Danquah were very violent to colonialism not only in West Africa, but across the continent. They extended support to the Africans at the continent leading to the rise of African nationalism.

QN Explain the role of internal factors to the growth of African nationalism

The External factors;

1. The role of the 1900 Pan African movement; this was a movement began by the Negroes in the diaspora to unite all the people of African origin or descent. People like William

Sylvester condemned colonial policies in Africa, foreign domination and racism which laid a foundation to the rise of African nationalism.

2. The economic development of Japan since 1860 motivated the rise of African nationalism. It should be noted that Japan developed industrially and militarily using its local resources without any foreign assistance. This inspired African nationalists to take the same path that Japan took leading to the rise of African nationalism.
3. The role of the Russian revolution of 1917 led to the rise of African nationalism. The revolution overthrew a despotic king Czar Nicholas II by the socialists led by Lenin. The socialists established reforms like equality in society and democracy which motivated African nationalists to mount pressure on colonialists.
4. The impact of world I of 1914 – 1918 led to the rise of African nationalism. Africans were taken by their colonial masters like Britain and France to fight against Germany. The war increased the revolutionary ideas among Africans due to interactions, it increased their demand for independence in order to manage their affairs.
5. The influence of the Atlantic charter of 1941 led to the rise of African nationalism. This was a meeting between the American president Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. They resolved that Britain initiates reforms like self-determination in British West African countries like Nigeria and Ghana leading to the rise of African nationalism.
6. The role of world II of 1939 – 1945 led to the growth of African Nationalism. This war was fought between Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan against the allied powers of Britain, France and U.S.A. the Africans who took part in the war acquired military skills. The war shuttered the myth against the white man, it aroused political awareness among Africans and it encouraged the formation of radical political parties.
7. The formation of the United Nations in 1945 led to the rise of African nationalism. The UN was formed after the collapse of the League of Nations that failed to avert (stop) the occurrence of wars in the world. The UN imposed sanctions on colonial masters, extended military and financial support to the Africans and declared a decade of de-colonialism ie 1950 – 1960 leading to the rise of African nationalism.
8. Victory of the labor party of Britain in 1945 led to the development of African nationalism. The elections organized in Britain led to the overthrow of Winston Churchill

and the emergency of clement Attlee. This led to the establishment of reforms in West Africa like the Burns constitution in Ghana, Richards constitution in Nigeria increasing African representation in the legislative council (LEGCO) hence the rise of African nationalism.

9. The impact of the Manchester conference of 1945 led to the rise of African nationalism. This was the 5th Pan African conference held in the diaspora, it was organized by WEB Dubois, George Padmore and Nkrumah. The conference encouraged African nationalists to come back and offer leadership; it militarized African nationalism, laid a foundation to formation of radical political parties like CPP formed in 1949 by Nkrumah.
10. The emergency of new super powers in 1946 led to the rise of African nationalism. These new super powers included USA with the capitalist ideology and USSR with the socialist ideology. They emerged after the collapse of France and Britain during the course of world II. These countries extended financial, military support to liberation movements in Africa like Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe leading to the rise of African nationalism.
11. Role of India and Pakistan in 1947, India got her independence under Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru as prime minister. India was under Britain as a colonial master and suffered the oppression like other African countries. India condemned the colonial atrocities in Africa such as racism, violation of human rights and therefore encouraged Africans to use non-violent methods such as boycott, demonstrations and strikes leading to rise of African nationalism.
12. The victory of the communist party in China in 1949 influenced the development of African nationalism. The communist party under Mao Tsetung emerged victorious and gave support to liberation movements in Africa eg ZANU under Robert Mugabe, gave support to Nasser of Egypt and surrendered radio Peking to condemn colonialism in Africa.
13. The independence of Indonesia since 1950 led to the rise of African nationalism. Indonesia was a colony of the Dutch and it got independence under Surkano as the president. It became a legitimate member of the UN and condemned colonialism in the world and Africa in particular. It organized the Bandung conference of 1955 that brought all the colonized countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia to condemn colonialism.

14. The victory of the Vietnamese in 1954 led to the rise of African nationalism. The people of Vietnam fought the French in a war between 1946-1954 that made them victorious. African nationalists like Ben Bella, Ferhat Abbas fought on the side of France. They were inspired by the people of Vietnam.
15. They formed FLN in 1954 to launch war against the French between 1954 and 1962 hence the rise of African nationalism.
16. Role of the Bandung conference of 1955 influenced the growth of African nationalism. This conference was organized by Surkano and the prime minister of India Nehru. The conference attracted the delegates from Africa like Gamel Nasser of Egypt, Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya and Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia. The conference led to the adoption of non-aligned movement (NAM) that emphasized positive neutrality, led to afro-Asian solidarity hence rise of African nationalism.
17. The role of the common wealth of nations since 1959 led to the rise of African nationalism. Common wealth was an association of countries that were colonized by Britain. These countries regularly met during CHOGM to put pressure on Britain to grant independence to African countries in order to increase membership. The delegates condemned the British policies in Africa such as the UDI in southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) leading to the rise of African nationalism.

Chronological arrangement of factors

1. Colonialism and its negative effects
2. Existence of independent African states
3. Rise of independent churches
4. Role of Christianity
5. Impact of Japanese victory 1860
6. The role pan African 1900
7. The role of WWI 1914 – 1918
8. The role of Russian revolution 1917
9. Impact of Italo – Ethiopian crisis 1935-1941.
10. Role of the WW II 1939 – 1945
11. Impact of Atlantic charter 1941

12. Restoration of Ethiopian independence 1941
13. Impact of Brazzaville conference 1944
14. Role of Manchester conference 1945
15. The victory of the communist party 1945
16. The formation of UNO 1945
17. The impact of WASU 1945
18. The emergency of newspapers in 1946
19. India's independence 1947
20. Apartheid policy in South Africa 1948
21. Victory of the communist party in 1949
22. Independence of Indonesia 1950
23. Impact of Mau Mau 1952-1955
24. Egyptian Revn 1952
25. Algerian war of independence 1954 – 1962
26. Vietnamese victory 1954
27. Bandung conference 1955
28. Ghana's independence 1957
29. Independence of Guinea Conakry 1958
30. Common wealth of nations 1959
31. Macmillan speech 1960
32. Formation of OAU 1963
33. Lisbon coup 1974
34. Formation of political parties
35. Rise of elites
36. Artists and MDD
37. Role of the press
38. Urbanization

1 .Account for the rise of African nationalism . 2 .Explain the role of internal factors to the growth of African nationalism

3 .To what extent did the external factors contribute to the growth of African Nationalism?

4. How far did the factors outside Africa influence the development of African Nationalism?

5 .Account for the growth of African nationalism

6 .Di scuss the role of internal factors to the growth of African nationalism

7 .To what extent did the colonial policies contribute to the growth of African Nationalism?

THE ROLE OF COLONIAL POLICIES TO THE RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

These policies included both positive and negative and they include the following;

- ✓ Forced labor which existed in Kenya highlands, Algeria, Portuguese colonies compelled Africans to mount pressure on the colonialist leading to the rise of African nationalism
- ✓ Over taxation subjected to the poor Africans, the methods of collection were very harsh and these existed in Zimbabwe, Angola among others leading to the rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ Racism practiced by the whites in Africa influenced the growth of African nationalism. Africans were discriminated on grounds of color, areas of residence eg Zimbabwe, south Africa and Namibia.
- ✓ Land alienation/grabbing introduced by the colonialists eg among the Maji- Maji in Tanganyika, Mau Mau in Kenya which compelled African to struggle for their independence.
- ✓ The Europeans plundered with the resources of Africans ie massive exploitation like the minerals in Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.
- ✓ The provision of poor education in almost all parts of Africa, Africans were provided with inferior education to limit their competition with their counterparts hence they opposed the colonial masters.
- ✓ The colonialists recruited Africans to fight in the world wars ie World War I and World War II. These wars exposed Africans to democratic ideas, Africans acquired military skills, among others leading to the rise of African nationalism

- ✓ The colonial masters forced African to grow cash crops. This existed in the Portuguese colonies eg in Mozambique, Kenya etc that opened up African to famine, low payments etc leading to growth of African nationalism.
- ✓ There was imprisonment of African leaders by colonial masters. These included Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Kamuzu Banda in Malawi which was strongly opposed by Africans.
- ✓ Disenfranchisement/denial of voting rights to Africans, this was common in South Africa, Zimbabwe among other countries that made Africans to rise up leading to African nationalism.
- ✓ The whites introduced assimilation policy in Africa, this was intended to deculturerise them and made Africans lose their culture and adopt the western culture type speaking, dressing among others common in Portuguese colonies etc.
- ✓ Impoverishment of Africans ie deliberate policy to make Africans poor like in Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia which prompted revolutions in Africa
- ✓ Creation of concentration camps (reserve camps) this limited African movement, level of interaction like it was in Kenya, Algeria among others.

THE ROLE OF WORLD WAR II TO THE GROWTH AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Assess the impact of World War II to the rise of African nationalism

World War II started in 1939 and ended in 1945. It was between the allied powers of Britain, France, USA against Germany, Italy and Japan. This was a turning point in the history of African nationalism.

The war contributed in the following ways;

- ✓ The war led to increased urbanization in Africa like Lagos, Johannesburg, Dakar and Cairo, These became centers of ideological exchange leading to the rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ The war led to the restoration of Ethiopia's independence in 1941. Countries like Britain, France and USA teamed up against Italy and assisted Emperor Haile Selassie to get independence which inspired other Africans to get independence.

- ✓ The war laid to the signing of the Atlantic charter in 1941. This charter brought the principle of self-determination in West Africa ie Ghana and Nigeria leading to the rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ The Brazzaville conference of 1944 was a product of World War 11. The conference brought the French colonies together, abolished forced labor, led to the formation of political parties.
- ✓ The war increased the activities of WASU in 1945
- ✓ The war led to the victory of the labor party in 1945. The party led to coming into power of clement Attlee who was liberal to Africans, introduced reforms like African representation in LEGCO.
- ✓ The war influenced the calling of the Manchester conference of 1945. This was organized by the blacks in the diaspora, united African nationalists, led to the formation of radical political parties, equipped African with leadership skills leading to the rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ The war led to the formation of UNO in 1945 which imposed sanctions on colonial masters, declared a decade of independence 1950 – 1960, extended support to liberation movements etc.
- ✓ The war laid foundation to the emergence of new super powers like USA and USSR. These countries compelled Britain and France to grant independence before extending loans, recognized and supported liberation movements in Africa, provided socialist literature like USSR.
- ✓ The war made India to get independence in 1947 from the British colonial masters. India under Mahatma Gandhi influenced Africans to adopt nonviolent methods like strikes and boycotts, gave support to Africans, gave scholarships to Africans like Kirunda Kivejinja, Bidandi Ssali, Kintu Musoke etc.
- ✓ The war led to formation of political parties in Africa.
- ✓ The war exposed Africans to democratic ideas in the world ie aroused political consciousness among Africans like the idea of liberty, equality and fraternity.
- ✓ The war led to increased use of the press and mass media in Africa. These included Accra evening news, the West African pilot, radio Cairo, voice of Algeria which laid a foundation to the rise of African nationalism.

- ✓ The war produced a class of ex-service men who acquired military skills to fight the colonial masters and these included Kaggia from Kenya, Senghor from Senegal, Dr Roseta of Malagasy, Ben Bella from Algeria.
- ✓ The war increased the influx of white settlers in Africa. These settlers grabbed African land in Kenya, Algeria, Zimbabwe that made Africana to resist leading to the rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ The war led to the establishment of social and economic infrastructure in Africa. These included roads and railways to exploit Africans. However these very roads were used by Africans nationalists to coordinate the struggle to independence.
- ✓ The war increased the Americans advance in Africa. This is exemplified by the visit of American president to Morocco where he condemned colonialism in Africa, sent American troops to Africa to fight colonialism.
- ✓ The war destroyed the economies of Britain and France; this is because the war was very costly in terms of finances which gave Africans an opportunity to get independence.
- ✓ The war shuttered the myth that the Africans had towards the white man. The superiority of the white man was undermined because even some whites died during the war which motivated the Africans to press for their independence.

The role of ex-service men in the decolonization process;

The ex-servicemen were the Africans who were recruited by their colonial masters to go and fight on behalf of the allied powers in world 11. They included among others general china of Kenya, Kaggia Fred Kubai, Ahmed Ben Bella, Dr Deputy Roseta of Malagasy. **The roles of the ex-service men included the following;**

- ✓ The Africans gained new ideas, experience which expanded their political consciousness (awareness) to oppose the colonial masters in Africa.
- ✓ The Africans had their myth about the white men shuttered. The superiority of the white man was destroyed in the face of the Africans as some whites were illiterates, drunken, poor among others which made Africans to fight them strongly.
- ✓ The ex-service men got to know how divided whites were in the world. It should be noted that the liberal whites in Europe were strongly opposed to the idea of colonialism. This made the returning Africans to resist colonialism in Kenya and Algeria.

- ✓ The ex-service men setup Liberation movements and political parties in Africa to resist colonial masters. These included the National Liberation Front (FLN) formed by Ahmed Ben Bella, Mau Mau fighters in Kenya against the British hence decolonizing Africa.
- ✓ The ex-service men acquired a common language for mobilization. They learnt English and French and they were able to take instructions from the whites, learnt how to read newspapers and listen to wireless bulletins hence rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ The ex-service men acquired skills which they used to humble colonialism. Africans learnt the skills of handling modern guns from the overseas and this made themselves militant against the colonialists eg Gen. China in Kenya against the British.
- ✓ The unfulfilled promises of the white men to Africans made them frustrated. Africans were promised jobs, land reforms, promotions as commissioned officers which were not met. This increased their anger against the white men leading to rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ Africans got exposed to democratic and independence ideas from abroad. This was witnessed from nationalists in India and Europe like France. This made Africans to increase demand for a free Africa.
- ✓ The ex-servicemen demanded for speedy political reforms in their respective countries. Africans admired the level of nationalism in Asia spearheaded by Mahatma Gandhi and wished to have the same.
- ✓ The ex-service men demanded for the implementation of the 1941 Atlantic charter. This document demanded for self-determination in Africa and to stop the oppression of the colonized world.
- ✓ The ex-servicemen were recognized by the United Nations. The Africans were often called by the UN general assembly to present their cases for independence and this made their struggle to become legitimate.
- ✓ The ex-servicemen had enjoyed better standards of living while abroad and they expected the same. However they were demobilized without pay and were poorer than the Africans they left on the continent hence increased their opposition to the white men.
- ✓ The ex-servicemen faced post-war challenges such as lack of accommodation in their countries, food insecurity, joblessness and they picked up arms to oppose the colonialists like verandah boys organized by Nkrumah (CPP in Ghana)

To what extent did the ex-servicemen influence the development of African Nationalism?

- Define African nationalism
- State a clear stand point
- Give the roles of ex-service men
- Give other factors for the rise of African nationalism

Discuss the factors that have been responsible for the growth of African nationalism since 1945

Assess the impact of World War 11 on the growth of the African nationalism

Examine the role of world war 11 in the decolonization of Africa

How did World War 11 contribute the growth of African Nationalism?

Discuss/explain the role of World War 11 in the decolonization of Africa

THE RWANDA REVOLUTION OF 1959

The Rwanda revolution was against Belgium rule and their counterpart the Tutsi who had oppressed the majority Hutu. It should be noted that the Hutu comprised of 85% while the Tutsi were only 14%. It is this oppression that made the majority in November 1959 to organize a revolution.

CAUSES OF THE RWANDA REVOLUTION

The causes were political, social and economic in nature as below;

- ✓ The Tutsi competition for power caused the Rwanda revolution of 1959. It should be noted that the colonial masters ie the Belgians fired the Hutu chiefs and replaced them with the Tutsi. It is also true that out of the 55 chiefs in Rwanda, 43 were Tutsi. This arrangement was not welcomed by the Hutu hence organizing the revolution to re-define their political status.
- ✓ The Belgian sudden change of support to the newly created Bahutu political party caused the revolution. It should be noted that towards the eve of independence, the Belgians

switched their support to the Hutu to prepare them for independence. This was marked by the replacement of Tutsi chiefs with the Hutu leaders hence culminating into a revolution.

- ✓ Land alienation in Rwanda caused the revolution. It should be noted that the Belgians and the Tutsi grabbed the Hutu land. It is true that the Tutsi were pastoralists and the Hutu practiced crop cultivation. This led to increased suffering of the Hutu who were sent to infertile areas and rented land expensively hence laying an outbreak of the revolution in 1959.
- ✓ The outbreak of famine in Rwanda caused the revolution. Rwanda went through six phases of famine and this was attributed to lack of land among the agricultural Hutus. It is also true that arrogant Tutsi grazed their cattle in the gardens of the Hutus. This caused serious total tension which exploded into a revolution.
- ✓ Cultural arrogance of the Tutsi caused the revolution. The Tutsi publicly despised the Hutu, the Tutsi reasoned that they were natural born leaders with divine powers, they claimed they were superior over the Hutu. This promoted hostile relationship between the two tribes resulting into the 1959 revolution.
- ✓ The Tutsi monopolized the education system in Rwanda and this laid a foundation to the revolution. The catholic missionaries provided education to the Tutsi in order to prepare them for leadership. This resulted into a high illiteracy rate among the Hutu who organized the revolution to address their education inequality.
- ✓ The high levels of unemployment in Rwanda caused the revolution. It should be noted that the Tutsi had better education and were favored by the colonial policies. The Tutsi dominated the army and civil service contrary to the Hutu who were serving on plantations with meager pay. This worsened the poverty levels among Hutu leading to the revolution.
- ✓ The impact of forced labor in Rwanda caused the revolution. It is true that the Hutu were made to work on the private farms, government plantations, public works eg the drainage system under very hostile environment. Those who seemed lazy were flogged in public, the Hutu women and children suffocated and this laid a foundation to the outbreak of the 1959 revolution.
- ✓ The Tutsi practiced unfair taxation and this led to the revolution. The poor Hutu were made to pay neck breaking taxes which even worsened their poverty levels. The Hutu

who failed to meet their tax obligations were always subjected to hard punishments like public flogging in the face of their children. This laid a foundation to the outbreak of the revolution.

- ✓ The Belgian failure to unite the ethnic groups in Rwanda laid a foundation to the revolution. It ought to be noted that the Belgians practiced a divide and rule policy which simply set Rwanda apart. This was heightened by the pride and arrogance of the Tutsi hence culminating into the revolution.
- ✓ The rejection of the Hutu manifesto of 1957 caused the Rwanda revolution. This document contained the grievances of the Hutu to the Belgians and the Tutsi requesting for reforms like taxation, end of forced labor and political representation and they looked to getting a solution through a revolution.

- ✓ The long heritage of the Hutu against colonialism contributed to the Rwanda revolution. It should be noted that the Hutu had earlier on resisted colonialists like Germany and later the Tutsi during the Nyabingi rebellion. Therefore this gave them the motivation to start the 1959 revolution basing on their traditional resistance.
- ✓ The death of Mwami mutala 3 led to the outbreak of the Rwanda revolution. Mwami mutala died in July 1959 and he did not have a heir. Therefore this made the Tutsi to enthrone Kigeri 5 who was a half-brother. This was rejected by the Hutu who thought that they would rise to power hence laying a foundation to the revolution in November in 1959.
- ✓ The influence of the Catholic Church contributed to the outbreak of the Rwanda revolution. The arch bishop of Rwanda called Peraudin condemned the Tutsi oppression against the Hutu as non-christian, it was evil and it was to be condemned by the hell fire. The church also provided education to the Hutu that led to the emergence of elites who opposed colonialism leading to the revolution.
- ✓ The impact of World War 11 influenced the outbreak of the revolution. World War 11 had reinforced the spirit of African nationalism, had increased African awareness, Africans got to know functional democracy, had militarized African nationalism. Therefore this made the Hutu leaders like Kayibanda and Habyarimana to rise up against colonialists.

- ✓ The rise of Hutu elites/nationalists resulted into a revolution. These included kayibanda and Habyarimana who demanded for Rwanda independence, equality in education, employment provision, land reforms which the Belgians and the Tutsi did not adhere to. They formed political parties and associations ie The TRAFIRO which mobilized the people of Rwanda leading to the revolution.
- ✓ The failure of the 1952 elections in Rwanda caused the revolution. The Belgians had announced municipality and council elections slated for 1952. However these were cancelled and instead leaders were appointed from the Tutsi and a few Hutu collaborators. This was contested by the Hutu hence organizing the revolution in 1959.
- ✓ The Gitarama incident/massacre led to the outbreak of the Rwanda revolution, this was a burning rumor that the Tutsi in the northern town of Gitarama had massacred several Hutu including their chief Mbomutwa. This provoked massive killing and attack on the Tutsi, their houses were razed down, the animals were killed and bodies mutilated hence leading to the revolution.

To what extent were the colonial policies responsible for the outbreak of the Rwanda revolution? Discuss

Outline of the colonial policies;

- The Belgians supported the monarchical rule of the Tutsi
- The Belgians politically oppressed the Hutu (were not represented)
- The Belgians suddenly changed attitude to support the Hutu towards independence
- The Belgians rejected the Hutu manifesto of 1957
- The colonial education in-balance
- Unemployment of the Hutu was blamed on the colonialists
- Unfair land distribution/land grabbing
- Forced labor was practiced by the colonialists
- The colonialists introduced divide and rule policy
- The Belgians changed the election structure of 1952

Other factors;

- Role of the arch bishop Peraudin

- The Tutsi arrogance
- The cultural heritage of the Hutu
- Tribalism in Rwanda
- Gitarama massacre
- The impact of World War II
- The death of Mwami Mutala III
- Rise of Hutu elites

Role of economic factors;

- Unemployment of the Hutu
- Land grabbing/alienation
- Denial the Hutu to own cattle
- Making education expensive and unaffordable
- Over taxation of the Hutu
- Forced cash crop growing which resulted into famine
- Forced labor with little or no pay
- Formation of cooperative movements eg Trafipro

'The economic factors were primarily responsible for the outbreak of the 1959 Rwanda revolution'. Discuss

To what extent did the Belgian policies contribute to the outbreak of the 1959 Rwanda Revolution?

'The economic factors made the 1959 Rwanda revolution inevitable'. Discuss

'The Rwanda revolution of 1959 was inevitable'. Discuss

EFFECTS OF THE RWANDA REVOLUTION

- ✓ The revolution tarnished the relationship between Rwanda and her neighbors eg Burundi Uganda, Zaire etc which provided asylum to the refugees.
- ✓ The revolution led to the killing of the Hutus and the Tutsi through the Gitarama massacre.

- ✓ The revolution created a problem of refugees who migrated to the neighboring countries ie many Tutsi went to the neighboring countries leading to increased suffering.
- ✓ The revolution led to loss of property through looting and burning of the Tutsi homes
- ✓ The revolution worsened the Hutu- Tutsi hatred which led to increased brutalized
- ✓ The revolution led to the formation of the cockroach movement ie guerilla affair in 1963 comprised of the Tutsi in Burundi. The aim of this was to revenge against the Hutu.
- ✓ The revolution led to the declaration of state of emergency in Rwanda leading restricted movements./
- ✓ The revolution made Kayibanda to be overthrown in 1973 by Juvenile Habyarimana due to his inability to solve problems in Rwanda.
- ✓ The revolution paved way for the outbreak of the Rwanda genocide in 1990. This was massive killing that even led to death of Habyarimana in a plane crash.
- ✓ The revolution made Mwami Kigeri to be disowned by the Rwandese and was sent to exile in USA only to come back in 1994 under the orders of the RPF.
- ✓ The revolution militarized Rwanda's politics as the gun dictated the politics of Rwanda from 1959 to date.
- ✓ Neo- colonialism dominated Rwanda after the revolution. Rwanda became a hub of western powers like France, USA, and Belgium in order to influence the affairs of Rwanda.
- ✓ The revolution exposed the weaknesses of the United Nations organization ie it did not rush to Rwanda to stop the revolution which led to the massive killing of people which led to nearly Tutsi extinction.
- ✓ The revolution created a class of destitutes among the neighboring countries. These were called Balalo in Uganda subjected to low status jobs like looking after cattle, digging blocked sewerage in the districts of Ntungamo, Mubende, Masaka, Teso, Busoga land etc.

POSITIVE EFFECTS

- ✓ The revolution made Rwanda to become a republic in 1961 that laid plans for elections which brought Kayibanda to power in 1962
- ✓ Rwanda got complete independence in 1962

- ✓ The Hutu were able to access education which was a monopoly to the Tutsi and the Belgians
- ✓ There were land reforms established after the Rwanda revolution. The Hutu distributed land among themselves to carry out meaningful agriculture.
- ✓ The revolution led to taxation reforms in Rwanda where the methods of collection were very friendly and the people benefited from the taxes.
- ✓ The revolution made the Hutus to join politics in Rwanda ie Kayibanda from 1962 to 1973 and Habyarimana upto 1994 when he died in a plane crash.
- ✓ The revolution led to commission of inquiry championed by the Swiss government into the massive killing, branding the killer as terrorists in Rwanda.
- ✓ The revolution led to reduction on the population pressure in Rwanda.
- ✓ The revolution led to collapse of Tutsi monarchy.

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS 1935 – 1941

The Italo- Ethiopian crisis was an invasion of under Mussolini against Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia

Causes of the crisis

The causes of were political, social and economic in nature as examined below;

- ✓ The need/desire to revenge against the Adowa battle led to the outbreak of the crisis. It should be noted that Ethiopia under the strong leadership of Emperor Menelik defeated Italy at the battle of Adowa in 1896. This was a humiliation to Italy and it looked forward to putting its history right hence the crisis of 1935.
- ✓ The revival of Italian imperialism influenced the outbreak of the crisis. It should be noted that Italy had been a great power in the great Roman Empire that included East Africa. Therefore when Mussolini rose to power in 1922, he desired to revive the Italian glory through imperialism.
- ✓ The desire to control the parts of Massawa and Assab made the crisis inevitable. The two parts were at the border of Eritrea at the red sea. Italy reasoned that it would control the trade and security in the horn of Africa hence the invasion in 1935.

- ✓ The development of organic theory/fascism in Italy made the 1935 crisis inevitable. The theory emphasizes the principle of survival for the fittest. Mussolini reasoned that the weak states of the world were not supposed to expand but were supposed to wither and get destroyed by the strong nations hence the Italian attack of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The desire to civilize the uncivilized Negroes in Ethiopia led to the outbreak of Italo-Ethiopian crisis. Italy believed that the Ethiopians were backward and barbaric and it was its responsibility to educate and civilize the savage Negroes in Ethiopia. This was to be done through education and Christianization hence the crisis.
- ✓ The divisions within Ethiopia influenced the Italian attack. It should be noted that Ethiopia had many divisions based on tribes. Emperor Haile Sellasie favored the Amhara against other tribes which were disloyal to him by 1935. To make matters worse Italy sent a Spy called Debono who reported about the disunity in the country laying the foundation for the outbreak of the crisis.
- ✓ The Italian desire for more colonies in Africa influenced the outbreaks of the 1935 crisis. Italy joined the colonial race late and it only got dry areas of Libya, Somalia and Eritrea contrary to Britain and France. Therefore Italy attacked Ethiopia in order to satisfy his territorial appetite.
- ✓ The strategic location of Ethiopia in the horn of Africa led to the outbreak of the crisis. It is true that Italy had taken over Somalia and Eritrea and Ethiopia was in the middle of these countries. Also Italy wanted to construct a railway line to connect two countries but Ethiopia was a stumbling block hence the attack in 1935.
- ✓ The economic depression of 1929 – 1933 caused the crisis. After World War I, European economies faced inflation, unemployment, scarcity of raw materials for the industries leading to industrial closure. This compelled Italy to attack Ethiopia in order to get cheap resources like pineapples, platinum, minerals and the Ethiopian fertile soils for coffee growing.
- ✓ The weakness of the Versailles peace treaty of 1919 made the Ethiopian crisis inevitable. The treaty ended and concluded World War I organized by the great powers of Britain and France. The great powers rewarded themselves with the Germany colonies in Africa and Italy did not get any colony. Therefore Italy attacked Ethiopia in order to reward itself because of the disappointment.

- ✓ The Stressa conspiracy of 1935 led to the outbreak of the crisis. The prime minister of Britain MacDonald and the prime minister of France Flandin met Italy at Stressa not to expand in Europe and maintain peace and stability. This encouraged Mussolini to attack Ethiopia expecting no resistance from the major powers.
- ✓ The impact of the Hoare-Laval pact of December 1935 made the crisis inevitable. This was an agreement between foreign secretary of Britain sir Samuel Hoare and the foreign minister of France Pierre Laval. They recommended the division of Ethiopia into the northern part to be governed by Italy and the southern part to be governed by Ethiopia. This made Mussolini to quickly occupy the northern part which sparked off the crisis.
- ✓ The Wal-Wal incident of 1934 led to the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. The Italian forces had occupied Wal-Wal region at the border of Ethiopia and Somalia. Emperor Selassie sent military troops which exchanged with the Italian forces leading to the death of Italian soldiers. Mussolini demanded that the emperor apologizes, raises the Italian flag , pays a fine for the damages which was not accepted by the emperor leading to the crisis.
- ✓ The Italian fears that Emperor Haile Selassie was planning to expel the Italians from Eritrea and Somalia occasioned the crisis. This fear had developed when the Ethiopians began organizing their military troops ready for war to the standards of the Europeans and therefore Mussolini quickly attacked Ethiopia in 1935.
- ✓ The desire by Italy to demonstrate its military strength led to the outbreak of the crisis. It should be remembered that Mussolini rose to power in 1922, reorganized the Italian army, and recruited soldiers massively in order to invade Africa especially the horn of Africa. Therefore this made the Italian attack of Ethiopia inevitable.
- ✓ The personality of Benito Mussolini led to the outbreak of the crisis. He was a war monger who believed in force, violence and expansion using aggressive means. He did not believe in dialogue but his policy of fascism compelled him to attack weaker nations Ethiopia inclusive.
- ✓ The desire by Italy to destroy the Ethiopian independence led to the outbreak of the crisis. It is true that Italy was envious and had developed jealousy for the independence of Ethiopia which it protected for very many years hence leading to the outbreak of the crisis.

- ✓ The weaknesses of the League of Nations (LON) laid a fertile ground for the outbreak of the Italo- Ethiopian crisis. This League of Nations was formed in 1920 with the aim of preserving world peace. The league committed many mistakes which included allowing Japan to attack china in 1931 to take over Manchuria, Jehol, allowing Germany to expand in Europe and nothing was done. This motivated Italy to also attack Ethiopia in 1935.

THE IMPACTS/EFFECTS OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS ON ETHIOPIA

Negative effects

- ✓ Ethiopia was beaten and defeated in 1935 and Italy occupied the country up to 1941.
- ✓ Ethiopia's oldest independence of over 200years was raped by Italy in 1935. This made the country to be under the Italian occupation for a period of five years.
- ✓ Emperor Haile Selassie was made to go to exile in 1936 and lived in Britain for five years. Therefore Ethiopia was under the leadership of the Italian king victor Emmanuel presided over by Mussolini.
- ✓ Ethiopia was greatly looted by the Italians. The Ethiopian traditional regalia eg the Lion of Judah and other precious items in the palace were taken by the Italians which affected the tourism industry in the country.
- ✓ Italy changed the map of the north East Africa to pave way for the formation of new great Italian empire. Areas like Ogden and Somalia were all taken by Italy.
- ✓ Ethiopia became the first victim of the Italian fascist ideology in Africa. This created sharp conflicts among the Ethiopian tribes eg the Galla, the Shoa and the Amhara.
- ✓ The Ethiopian environment was degraded by the Italian poisonous gases. This involved heavy air raids, the spraying of aerial poisonous gases and this led to outbreak of diseases, famine and death of people.
- ✓ The crisis led to the displacement of people and increased the refugee crisis in the horn of Africa. This made people to wonder to the neighboring countries like Sudan, northern Kenya hence the people suffered as great deal.
- ✓ The Ethiopians were subjected to harsh economic conditions by the Italians. There was over taxation, forced labor in the plantations which only benefited the foreigners.

- ✓ The crisis widened interstate conflicts in North Africa. Misunderstandings developed between Ethiopia and Somalia over the Ogden province which led to increased suffering in the region.

Positive impacts

- ✓ The crisis created patriotism among the Ethiopians. It made the youth of Ethiopia to grab guns from the Italians in order to preserve their independence.
- ✓ The Orthodox Church in Ethiopia criticized the Italian occupation of the country. The church went ahead and supplied arms to the Ethiopians who were fighting the Italian aggression.
- ✓ The Italians built roads, schools using forced labor. This became very useful to the Ethiopians after the departure of the Italians in 1941
- ✓ Ethiopia was recognized internationally by the big powers like USA and Ethiopia was invited to witness the formation of the United Nations organization in 1945
- ✓ Ethiopia was later liberated in 1941 by a combined effort of the British and the common wealth states. This made Emperor Selassie to come back to Ethiopia as their legitimate leader.
- ✓ The crisis led to the formation of the Black Lions Movement (BLM) in Ethiopia. This was a liberation movement which was very violent formed by university students. It militarized African nationalism and it contributed to the victory of Ethiopia in 1941.

FACTORS FOR THE DEFEAT OF ETHIOPIA IN 1936

The Italo-Ethiopia crisis took place on 3rd October 1935 and they were defeated on 6th may 1936. The following factors account for the defeat of Ethiopia;

- ✓ Disunity among the Ethiopians led to their defeat. It should be noted that the Ethiopians were divided on tribal basis and tribes like the Galla, Shoa, Tigre had hated the ruling tribe Amhara leading to the defeat of Ethiopians.
- ✓ The poor military strategies employed by the Ethiopians contributed to their defeat. It is true that the Ethiopians used out-dated weapons which had been put in store since 1896. Also there was frontal attack that led to the death of army generals leading to the victory of the Italians.

- ✓ Ideological differences among the nationalists in Ethiopia contributed to their defeat. It should be noted that the provincial governors differed on the war strategies with Emperor Haile Selassie. This left the army divided and the government officials leading to the defeat of Ethiopians.
- ✓ The unfair arms' embargo imposed on Ethiopia led to their defeat. It should be noted that Ethiopia was denied the opportunity to import fire arms in order to engage the Italians. On the other hand the Italians secretly imported weapons through Sudan and Egypt leading to the defeat of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The white man's conspiracy contributed to the defeat of Ethiopia. This was reflected in the Stressa conspiracy where Britain and France only wanted a peaceful Europe due to the proposal to divide Ethiopia into two parts which compelled Italy to occupy Ethiopia.
- ✓ The economic weaknesses of Ethiopia by 1936 led to their defeat. Ethiopia experienced phases of famine that made people weak, high levels of inflation and high levels of unemployment. All these led to their defeat.
- ✓ The unpopularity of Haile Selassie contributed to the defeat of Ethiopia. Emperor Haile Selassie was nepotic, a dictator and had denied the Ethiopians their fundamental rights. Therefore a war was fought between the Amhara and the Italians leading to the defeat of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The weaknesses of the League of Nations contributed to the defeat of Ethiopia in 1936. The League of Nations was formed in 1920 with a cardinal aim of preserving world peace. The League of Nations failed to protect Ethiopia from the Italians aggression yet it was a member country. It also failed to stop the emergence of dictators like Mussolini leading to the defeat of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The collaboration of Ethiopian neighbors like Somalia and Eritrea led to the victory of Italy. The Italians collaborated with these two countries and spied on Ethiopia. This made Mussolini to discover all the weaknesses of the Ethiopian army leading to their defeat in 1936.
- ✓ The flight of Emperor Haile Selassie to exile contributed to the victory of Italy. This created an opportunity for the Italians to overrun Ethiopia due to the leadership vacuum that had been created and demoralized the Ethiopians.

- ✓ The delayed assistance from African countries contributed to the defeat of Ethiopia. Most African countries were under colonial bondage. Colonial masters blocked African countries to mobilize support for Ethiopia which was a role model for African nationalism hence leading to the defeat of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The overwhelming support of Mussolini back home contributed to the Italians victory. Mussolini was an orator, eloquent and charming and this made the Italians to give him full support in order to glorify the Italian empire.

Qns

1. Account for the defeat of Ethiopia by the Italians in 1936.
2. Account for Italians victory over Ethiopia by 1936
3. To what extent was the League of Nations responsible for the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopia Crisis?
4. 'The Wal-Wal incident of 1934 was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Italo Ethiopian crisis'. Discuss

THE ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN CAUSING THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS

- ✓ The League of Nations failed to prevent the Japanese attack on china's industrialized province of Manchuria in 1933. This motivated Mussolini also to attack Ethiopia expecting no response from the League of Nations.
- ✓ The League of Nations failed to implement the resolutions pertaining disarmament in the world. This had been agreed upon in the Geneva conference in 1932.
- ✓ The League of Nations lacked a resolute diplomatic leader at the time and this contributed to the crisis. It should be noted that Mr. Briand who was the British foreign minister had died and there was no one to convince the League of Nations about world peace.
- ✓ The League of Nations failed to prevail over Mussolini during the Wal-Wal incident. The League of Nations failed to intervene when Mussolini made unreasonable demands which the emperor refused and laid a foundation to the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis.

- ✓ The League of Nations failed to restrain the production of military weapons by Germany, Japan and Italy which led to the crisis in 1935.
- ✓ The League of Nations was militarily weak because it never had an army of its own. This made it impossible to stop Italy which had begun producing weapons.
- ✓ The League of Nations practiced appeasement policy. This policy demanded that as long as Europe is peaceful, Italy was free to expand elsewhere leading to the occupation of Ethiopia in 1935.
- ✓ The League of Nations failed to attract services of the emerging super powers eg USA and USSR. This possibly would have strengthened the League of Nations to defeat the Italian aggression.
- ✓ The members of the League of Nations failed to raise funds towards the prevention of the great economic depression that took place between1929 to 1933. This was an economic catastrophe that hit economies of the world Italy inclusive leading to the attack of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The League of Nations had a weak principal of free entry and exit. This policy made Italy, Japan and Germany to withdraw from the League of Nations and act on their own leading to the attack of Ethiopia in 1935.

THE ROLE OF THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CRISIS TO THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Qns

1. The Italo-Ethiopian crisis of 1935 – 1941 made the growth of African nationalism inevitable. Discuss
2. Assess the impact of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis on Africa
3. Discuss the role of the Italo- Ethiopian crisis to the growth of African nationalism

The impact of the Italo-Ethiopian crisis towards the growth of African nationalism;

- ✓ The Italo-Ethiopian crisis militarized African nationalism. This was through the formation of the Black Lion's Movement in Ethiopia and this encouraged their African countries to adopt military approaches to demand for independence eg Mau-Mau in Kenya. The Algerian war of independence the Portuguese colonies among others.

- ✓ The crisis laid a foundation for the later restoration of Ethiopians independence in 1941. This inspired and motivated African countries under colonialism to intensify their struggles for independence.
- ✓ The crisis sparked off demonstrations and protests in Africa in the diaspora. This is exemplified by the nationalists in West Africa and Kwame Nkrumah who organized demonstrations in the streets of London.
- ✓ The italo-Ethiopian crisis laid a foundation for the collapse of League of Nations and consequent formation of the United Nations in 1945. The UN extended military and financial support to African countries ,it imposed sanctions on colonial masters declared a decade on the independence in Africa.
- ✓ The crisis was a fore runner to the outbreak of world war2 in 1939. It is true that World War 2 was caused by rise of dictator in the world Musolini inclusive, the war destroyed the economies of the major colonial masters like Britain and France hence making African countries acquire independence.
- ✓ The crisis cemented African solidarity and unity. This was expressed by the African response towards the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Nationalists in West Africa and the blacks all over the world condemned the Italian occupation of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The crisis increased press attacks in Africa and the entire world. Africans wrote articles condemning the Italian occupation of Ethiopia eg Jomo Kenyatta wrote; "hands off Abyssinia" and this led to the rise of African nationalism.
- ✓ The crisis influenced the signing of the 1941 Atlantic charter. The charter agitated for self-determination in the entire world and the right of the entire world to choose governments of their own.
- ✓ The crisis led to formation of anti-colonial movements in Africa. These included the pan African federation (PAF), the international African friends of Ethiopia (IAFE) hence **leading to the development of African nationalism.**
- ✓ **The crisis led to the calling of the Manchester conference of 1945. The major aim of the conference was to end colonialism, it compelled the blacks in diaspora to come back to Africa and form radical political parties in order to liberate the continent.**

- ✓ **The crisis increased the activities of WASU in 1945. The students in Africa condemned colonialism on the entire continent and extended support to the suffering Africa.**
- ✓ **The crisis** exposed **the white conspiracy against the blacks. Africans realised that white men were not willing to grant independence exhibited by the support Britain and France accorded to Italy therefore the crisis aroused black consciousness.**

THE RESTORATION/LIBERATION OF ETHIOPIA'S INDEPENDENCE IN 1941

Qns

1. Account for the defeat of Italy by Ethiopia in 1941
2. Account for the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941
3. 'The internal factors were primarily responsible for the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941'. Discuss
4. Account for victory of Ethiopia against Italian rule by 1941

- ✓ The formation and role of the Black Lions Movement contributed to the liberation of Ethiopia. The movement was formed in 1937 and it recruited soldiers united the Ethiopians and setup liberated zones leading to the Ethiopian victory.
- ✓ The strong leadership of the Ethiopian patriots such as Ras Imru, This made the Ethiopians to mount pressure on the Italians after the exile of Selassie and he was a cabinet minister.
- ✓ The formation of the committee of union led to the Ethiopian victory. The sole aim of the committee was to ensure consolidated unity among the Ethiopians hence victory
- ✓ The national unity of the Ethiopians contributed to the defeat of Italy in 1941. Contrary to 1936 where the Ethiopians were divided along tribal lines, By 1941ethinicity was diffused.
- ✓ The determination of the Ethiopians to get of rid the Italians occupation contributed to the Ethiopian success.
- ✓ The influence of the Ethiopian patriotic church led to the victory of the Ethiopians. The church was under the leadership of bishop Petros who condemned the Italian stay in Ethiopia and supported the Ethiopian nationalists

- ✓ The impact of the Grazzian massacre of 1937 led to the Ethiopian victory. This incident claimed the lives of the Ethiopians and increased pressure on the Italians.
- ✓ The unpopularity of the Italian rule in Ethiopia, the Italians had established forced labor, over taxation which compelled the Ethiopians to fight for their independence.
- ✓ The advantage of Ethiopia contributed to their victory. It is characterized by Ethiopian highland. This geography was unfamiliar to the Italians.
- ✓ The numerical advantage of the Ethiopians contributed to their success in 1941. The large number of the Ethiopians overwhelmed the Italians and they were determined to defeat the alien powers by 1941.
- ✓ The rule of the Ethiopian patriots contributed to the success of the Ethiopians. These included Zerai, Mulugeta who was the minister of war and the gallant veterans of the Adowa battle.
- ✓ The wide spread black demonstration led to the defeat of the Italians. The blacks in the diaspora such as Jamaica, New York London condemned the Italian occupation of Ethiopia and it was weakened by 1941.
- ✓ The outbreak of World war 2 partly contributed to the defeat of the Italians by 1941. Italy made a blunder of joining the axis of Germany and japan and these arch enemies to Britain. Therefore Britain reciprocated by supporting emperor Selassie to get back to Ethiopia by 1941.
- ✓ The role of the Rastafarian movement led to the defeat of Italy by 1941. These stemmed from Jamaica and had a big following in Ethiopia. They condemned, expressed feelings of black decent (togetherness) leading to the defeat of Italy.
- ✓ Role of the anti-colonial movements led to the defeat of Italy in 1941. These include Abyssinian association, pan African federation (PAF) international African friends of Ethiopia (IAFE). These condemned the Italians in Ethiopia which was dismantled by 1941.
- ✓ International sympathy to the Ethiopians lead to their success by 1941 following the attack of Ethiopia which was a role model of African independence and the flight of the Ethiopian leader to exile attracted the international community to condemn moral, financial and political support were extended to Ethiopia leading to the defeat of Italians.

Qns

‘The internal factors were primarily responsible for the defeat of Italy in 1941’. Discuss

Account for the restoration of Ethiopia’s independence in 1941

THE REIGN OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE 1930-1974

Emperor Haile Selassie was born in 1892 to Ras Makkonen who was a cousin to emperor Menelik II.

He was a descendant of the Solomonic dynasty and he had a number of titles including; his Emperial majesty, lion of Judah and king of kings.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF HAILE SELASSIE

- ✓ The emperor gave Ethiopia the first written constitution. This constitution provided for the fundamental rights of the Ethiopians and promoted democracy in the initial stages. This constitution was revised in 1955 to accommodate the interest of the Ethiopians.
- ✓ Emperor Haile Selassie introduced modern political structures in Ethiopia. The international exposure of the emperor made him to start the ministry of commerce and finance. This increased the export and import trade of the country thereby generating foreign exchange
- ✓ The emperor made the Amharic a national language for Ethiopia. This eased communication among the different tribes like the Galla, Shoa, Tigre, Wello etc which lasted for some time hence promoting national unity.
- ✓ The emperor succeeded in admitting Ethiopia to become a legitimate member of UNO. Haile Selassie was among the members who witnessed the signing of the UN charter at San Francisco in 1945.
- ✓ Emperor Selassie placed Ethiopia at the center of African unity emperor Haile Selassie organized the Addis Ababa conference in 1963 which gave rise to the formation of OAU, using its liberation committee, extended support to struggling African countries.
- ✓ The emperor abolished slave trade and slavery in Ethiopia. This was very common among the Tigre and the emperor condemned and abolished these inhumane practices hence achievement.

- ✓ The emperor contributed to the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941. The emperor went to exile in 1936 and mobilized international assistance which contributed to the defeat of Italy in 1941 hence restoring the Ethiopian independence.
- ✓ The emperor promoted tourism and wild life conservation. This is evident by the six lions kept by the emperor at the palace. The emperor also established the Ethiopian tourism board which made the country to be a destination of international tourists.
- ✓ The emperor promoted games and sports in Ethiopia. The emperor personally liked games like chess, horse riding and promoted athletics which made a country to become a champion at the Olympics games.
- ✓ The emperor promoted the welfare of the disadvantaged people in Ethiopia. Orphanages were established and the emperor supervised their effective operation throughout the country.
- ✓ The emperor modernized the printing sector in Ethiopia. He made effort to transform the sector and establish a newspaper in the Amharic language. This led to the promotion of information among the people and sensitizing the community about government policies.
- ✓ The emperor promoted a health sector, the hospitals were established in Ethiopia stocked with medicine, doctors and nurses were employed in order to handle diseases of the nationals which increased the social – economic welfare.
- ✓ The emperor modernized the transport sector in Ethiopia, many roads were constructed the Ethiopian airways was improved the parts of Assab and Massawa were improved hence promoting domestic and international trade.
- ✓ The emperor promoted religious tolerance in Ethiopia, so many religions were recognized and given the freedom of worship to include x-tianity, orthodox and the Eritrea Muslims were also recognized in Ethiopia.
- ✓ The emperor Selassie modernized the education system in Ethiopia. The emperor constructed primary and secondary schools, universities were built, Ethiopian students were given scholarships to study from abroad, international lectures were hired to teach in Ethiopian universities reducing on the level of illiteracy.
- ✓ The emperor introduced the 5 years development plan for Ethiopia; this was compounded by recent technologies from international experts from Sweden, Belgium, USA and a Britain in order to promote quality service in the empire.

- ✓ The emperor stood firm behind the protections of rights and freedoms of the African continent. He worked closely with African statesmen to condemn imperialism in Africa eg the UDI government under Ian smith of southern Rhodesia, the racist government of South Africa and Portuguese colonies under the triumvirate alliance.

FAILURES AND WEAKNESSES OF THE EMPEROR

- ✓ The emperor over stayed in power from 1930 – 1974. This was an abuse of democratic governance in Ethiopia and it made him to become unpopular.
- ✓ The emperor pursued a policy of nepotism and tribalism in Ethiopia, he favored the Ahmara tribe who were considered for government jobs. The close relatives were also favored at the expense of the entire Ethiopian communities to include Tigre, Shoa etc. this undermined his credibility by 1974.
- ✓ The emperor was autocratic and a dictator, the emperor had a parliament that passed rubber stamp policies in the country and these were not in the interest of the majority. The freedoms of the people were suppressed, no elections and removing the emperor from power was next to impossible hence a coup was organized in 1974.
- ✓ He promoted corruption in Ethiopia, his government misappropriated government funds. There was embezzlement and swindling by the government ministers and this made the country to experience debt burdens.
- ✓ Emperor Selassie neglected the army in Ethiopia. The army was characterized by low pay, promotion was based on tribe, soldiers were poorly housed and this created discontent among the armed forces leading to his overthrow in 1974.
- ✓ Emperor Selassie neglected industrial sector in Ethiopia, this created high levels of unemployment among the people of Ethiopia, limited revenue, led to the consumption of highly priced goods from abroad leading to imported inflation.
- ✓ The emperor failed to address the problem of famine in Ethiopia, the years 1972 to 1974 were characterized by famine in Ethiopia and it claimed the lives amounting to 200,000 citizens. The government of Selassie neglected this catastrophe which undermined his government by 1974.
- ✓ The emperor failed to reform the land tenure system in Ethiopia. The peasants in Ethiopia became squatters when they were evicted by the landlords. The peasants could not

carryout meaningful agriculture because of the feudalism hence undermining the government of Ethiopia by 1974.

- ✓ The emperor failed to solve the problem of wide spread illiteracy completely. The education system in Ethiopia was very expensive for the ordinary citizens. The sons of the peasants could not therefore access education hence a major weakness.
- ✓ The emperor promoted instability in Ethiopia, this was characterized by the Ogden crisis between Ethiopia and Somalia, the Eritrean war of secession from 1960. The emperor used violent means to suppress the crisis leading to his over throw by 1974.

Qns

Examine the achievements of Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia between 1930 and 1974

How successful was the Ethiopian monarchy between 1930 to 1974?

Assess the contribution of Emperor Haile Selassie to the history of Ethiopia between 1930 and 1974

Examine the contribution of Emperor Haile Selassie in the modernization of Ethiopia between 1930 & 1974.

Other factors for the development of Ethiopia

- ✓ Ethiopian's early independence which it protected even during the Adowa battle made it not to have uninterrupted development.
- ✓ The existence of mineral resources like aluminum in the Ethiopian highlands made Ethiopia to develop by creating employment opportunities and generating foreign exchange earnings.
- ✓ The fertile soils along the slopes of Ethiopian highlands favored the growth of Arabica coffee which boosted the incomes of the people.
- ✓ The role of emperor Menelik II who established the Ethiopian airways was a major factor in the modernization of Ethiopia.
- ✓ The positive effects of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia ie they constructed roads, railways, schools and hospitals all geared towards development.
- ✓ The role of foreign investments such as shell, Barclays

- ✓ The role of foreign investment ie multi-national companies such as Barclays, shell which generated revenue in form of taxes, provided employment to Ethiopians leading to development of the country.
- ✓ The existence of tourist attractions led to the development Ethiopia eg Ethiopian highlands ie ports of Massawa and Assab which acted as a source of income and foreign

- ✓ The strategic location of Ethiopia also led to the development of Ethiopia. It was located in the horn of Africa near the Red sea which had fertile soils that favored crop growing, water for irrigation.
- ✓ The existence of elites also led to the development of Ethiopia. Many of the Ethiopians had acquired western education and they compared their way of life and political life with the monarchy of Ethiopia hence providing leadership.

THE 1974 ETHIOPIAN COUP

Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown through a military coup organized by the Dergue headed by Mengistu Mariam, Atnafu Abate Aman Andom.

These military officers established a provincial military advisory council (PMAC) and later Mengistu eliminated his friends to become full president of Ethiopia in 1977.

The causes of the 1974 Ethiopians coup

- ✓ The drought and famine catastrophes in Ethiopia led to the outbreak of the Ethiopian coup. This claimed many lives of the Ethiopians amounting to 200,000 people who died of starvation among the Galla, Shoa and Tigre. This created unpopularity for the emperor.
- ✓ The increased grievances of the army laid a foundation to the outbreak of the 1974 coup. The emperor neglected the army hence creating unfair conditions. The army was poorly housed, salaries were meager which created discontent leading to the coup.

- ✓ The dictatorship of Emperor Haile Selassie led to the outbreak of the coup. The emperor banned political parties, the constitution gave him absolute powers to make decisions which negatively affected the people, the parliament existed in words, there was no functional democracy and all these led to the outbreak of the coup.
- ✓ Tribalism and nepotism practiced by the emperor Haile Selassie resulted into the 1974 Ethiopian coup. It should be noted that the emperor favored the Amhara tribe at the expense of other tribes. All political posts in the government were dominated by the Amhara and therefore this created a distance between the emperor and the majority citizens of Ethiopia.
- ✓ Religious intolerance in Ethiopia led to the outbreak of the 1974 coup. It should be recalled that the emperor made the Orthodox Church to have more powers in the religious affairs of Ethiopia (Christianity was made the state religion). The Muslims of Eritrea were not given religious freedom and these therefore rallied behind army officers and overthrow the government.
- ✓ Economic backwardness of Ethiopia undermined the popularity of the emperor. There was high primitivity by 1974, the infrastructure in terms of roads, railways were collapsing, the industry and agricultural sector were very low and transport was by horses leading to the coup of 1974.
- ✓ The government of emperor Haile Selassie was dominated by gross unemployment. majority of the Ethiopians were unemployed attributed to low levels of industrialization and agriculture. This resulted into low standards of living which made people desperate for change.
- ✓ The impact of neo-colonialism manifested in Ethiopia led to the 1974 coup. Emperor Haile Selassie had his advisors from America and Switzerland. The Ethiopian Arabica coffee was bought by the Americans as the chief trade partner leading to massive exploitation of the peasants. Therefore emperor Selassie was showed exit due to neo-colonial policies.
- ✓ The emperor deprived the Ethiopians of their fundamental freedoms. The emperor restricted the freedom of association, freedom of speech and banned newspapers except the Amhara newspaper. This was next to slavery and it created room for the coup.

- ✓ The failure of the emperor to reform the land policy in Ethiopia led to the outbreak of the coup. It ought to be noted that there was feudalism and serfdom in the country. The landlords exploited the peasants and charged high rent for land leading to squatter system in the country hence the coup.
- ✓ The high rate of illiteracy in Ethiopia led to the outbreak of the 1974 coup. It should be noted that by 1974, Ethiopia had 90% of people who were not educated. This was attributed to the expensive education amidst the poverty – citizens therefore this hindered the levels of transformation of society.
- ✓ The emergency of the elite class in Ethiopia contributed to the outbreak of the coup. Many of the Ethiopians had acquired western type of education and compared the political elites of the diaspora which led to collapse of the Ethiopian monarchy. These advocated for radical political changes in Ethiopia, criticized the government of the emperor hence weakening it by 1974.
- ✓ Corruption and economic mismanagement by the emperor led to the outbreak of the coup. The emperor was very extravagant, he banked money in the foreign banks ie in Geneva in Switzerland amidst the suffering Ethiopians. The royal family enjoyed banquets which were very expensive. Therefore this laid a foundation of the 1974 coup.
- ✓ The looming poverty among the Ethiopians contributed to the outbreak of the 1974 coup. The peasants could hardly access the basics of life, could not educate their children nor cloth them. Therefore this created despair among the citizens leading to the coup of 1974.
- ✓ The existence and rise of ambitious socialist leaders led to the outbreak of the 1974 coup. These were the army officers headed by Mengistu who wanted to practice democracy to ensure a strong military and promote equality in society. These organized a coup against emperor in 1974
- ✓ The influence of earlier successful coups on the continent led to the downfall of emperor Selassie. Dictators across Africa had been overthrown like the Egyptian coup of 1952, the 1965 coups in Algeria and Congo, the 1971 coup in Uganda and the 1972 coup in Ghana.

OTHER CAUSES OF THE 1974 ETHIOPIAN COUP

- ✓ The role of Russia contributed to the outbreak of the 1974 coup in Ethiopia. It should be noted that the Dutch government implemented the soviet with the financial and military assistance from the union hence overthrowing the government of emperor Selassie.

'The external factors were primarily responsible for the collapse of the Ethiopian monarchy in 1974'. Discuss

Other factors

- Economic crisis in Ethiopia ie inflation and unemployment
- Role of students riots in the 1960s had a long term impact on Haile Selassie government
- Famine and hunger
- Corruption
- Discontent of the army/neglect of the army
- Tribalism and regional imbalance
- Dictatorship
- Land question/feudalism which created a problem of serfdom
- Nepotism
- High level of illiteracy
- Over stay in power by the emperor
- Religious intolerance

ETHIOPIA UNDER MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM (DERGUE GOVERNMENT 1974 – 1991

Major Mengistu Haile Mariam assumed political power in Ethiopia after eliminating his colleagues and became full president in 1977.

ACHIEVMENTS OF THE DERGUE/MENGISTU HAILE MARIAM

- ✓ The Dergue under took a land reform policy in Ethiopia. This was done where all the households in 1975 were made to own land through the decree created. Therefore land was distributed among the peasants hence reducing social pressure in the country.
- ✓ The Dergue defeated ethnicity in Ethiopia. There was promotion of racial equality in Ethiopia to include all the tribes contrary to the regime of Haile Selassie that only favored

the Amhara. Printing of newspapers and radio broadcast was also allowed in other languages.

- ✓ The Dergue promoted religious tolerance in Ethiopia, there was freedom of worship and this was done by promoting Christianity and Islamic faith among the nationals of Eritrea composed of majority Muslims, this in the long run reduced religious torture in Ethiopia.
- ✓ Mengistu achieved in the promotion of literacy levels in Ethiopia. The government encouraged adult education, there was expansion of primary, secondary and university education hence increasing on the number of educated class in Ethiopia.
- ✓ The government of Mengistu improved on the medical care health delivery in Ethiopia. This was done through the construction of clinics, dispensaries and hospitals. Medical workers such as doctors and nurses were employed and a nursing school was established in Ethiopia which never existed during the regime of Selassie.
- ✓ The Dergue government boosted the agricultural sector in Ethiopia. This was done through the modernization of Arabica coffee production which doubled the foreign exchange earnings of Ethiopia. State farms were established where farmers got modern skills, incentives were given to the farmers like fertilizers and improved seeds.
- ✓ The Dergue government scored in the area of relief assistance in Ethiopia. The famine and poverty stricken nationals were given relief assistance in terms of food to alleviate stress hence increasing the popularity of the government.
- ✓ Mengistu government carried out grand nationalism of the economy. This helped many nationals to get jobs in super markets, banks and insurance companies which belonged to the foreigners. This therefore reduced foreign control and exploitation by the multi-national companies.
- ✓ The Dergue government strengthened the housing policy in Ethiopia. In July 1975, all houses in Addis Ababa were nationalized and this helped to reduce rent for the poor people. All people in the urban centers were restricted to the single unit houses which reduced pressure in the country.
- ✓ The Dergue recognized the rights of the Eritreans with semi-autonomous powers. This had existed during the time of emperor Selassie and this temporary independence reduced the tension between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

- ✓ The government Mengistu initiated workers committees in the country. This was done through the recognition of trade unions which advocated for the welfare of the workers and the setting up of minimum wages to reduce labor exploitation.
- ✓ The military government introduced a progressive tax system in Ethiopia. There was abolition of the poll tax which existed during the time of Selassie and workers only paid PAYE hence improving on their standards of living and closing the gap between the rich and the poor.
- ✓ The Dergue government embarked on mass industrialization. Many industries were established in Ethiopia and this led to the reduction of imported goods in the country. The industrialization policy also increased on the welfare on the workers through job creation, increased government revenue through taxation and the ministry of industry was put in place to implement the policy.

FAILURES OF THE DERGUE

- ✓ The Dergue government failed to have a lasting solution to the famine problem and food shortage in Ethiopia. The peasant agriculture was neglected in the country and all the farms established concentrated on the growing of coffee and neglected food production leading to starvation.
- ✓ The Dergue failed to control inflation in Ethiopia, the prices of the essential commodities sky-rocketed especially in the urban center and this increased radical political pressure engineered by university students.
- ✓ The Dergue government failed to return Ethiopia to civilian rule between 1974 to1991. This explains why the government had to collapse because the environment was very hard for civilian leaders to access power through democratic means leading to the coup of 1991
- ✓ The Dergue government failed to completely solve the problem of Eritrean question. It ought to be noted that the Eritreans were given temporary independence, However the military government used force to suppress the Eritreans and got their independence in 1993 after the exit of the Dergue government.

- ✓ The government of Mengistu carried out red terror in Ethiopia, this was characterized by a series of massacres of the opposition leaders. It majorly targeted the Ethiopian Peoples revolutionary party (EPRP) and all other enemies of the government.
- ✓ The nationalization policy implemented by the Dergue government undermined property rights in the country. Most of the houses taken by the government in Addis Ababa did not attract compensation and this undermined the longivity of the government due to increased opposition.
- ✓ The Dergue government promoted heavy military expenditure in Ethiopia, this was at the expense of the problems of the people who were very poor and unemployed. The government of Mengistu used military confrontation as a survival strategy targeting the internal oppression and opposition from Eritrea.
- ✓ The military government promoted neo-colonialism in Ethiopia. There was heavy involvement of the Soviet Union in the affairs of the country. This denied the Ethiopians complete independence in decision making. Ethiopia became a dumping ground of the out-dated military hardware from Russia.
- ✓ Mengistu Haile Mariam was a military dictator who replaced the aristocratic Selassie. He banned all political parties in the country, abolished the parliament, ruled the country using decrees, and suffocated the work of the trade unions and this deprived people of their fundamental human rights only to be overthrown by Melez Zenawi in 1991.

Qns

1. How successful was the Dergue administration in Ethiopia btn 1974 & 1991?
2. Assess the achievements of Haile Mariam Mengistu in Ethiopia
3. 'Mengistu Mariam was primarily responsible for his own down fall in 1991'. Discuss
4. To what extent was the 1974 Ethiopian coup reformatory?

THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION OF 1964

The Zanzibar revolution was organized on 11th Jan 1964 against the Arab dominated government led by sultan Jamshid. It was organized by a Ugandan national called John Okello a Langi by tribe. It should be noted that Zanzibar was colonized by the British who handed power to the

Arabs in December 1963 thereby creating an **oligarchy** government (government dominated by a small group of people]

Qns

1. Account for the outbreak of the 1964 Zanzibar revolution
2. 'Racism was primarily responsible for the 1964 Zanzibar revolution'. Discuss
3. To what extent did the economic factors contribute to the outbreak of the Zanzibar in 1964?
4. Explain the problems faced by the Africans in Zanzibar in 1964
5. To what extent did colonial legacy contribute to the outbreak of the Zanzibar Revolution?

Causes of the Zanzibar revolution

- ✓ Racial conflicts on the island caused the revolution. There was social stratification in Zanzibar based on color eg the Arab minority of 50,000 dominated the majority Africans that amounted to 250,000 people. The Africans were neglected in the provision of social services contrary to Arabs and Asians hence leading to outbreak of the revolution.
- ✓ The political domination of Arabs caused the Zanzibar revolution, the Arabs dominated legislature, executive and judiciary. This exposed Africans to racial oppression that they rose against to get balance of power.
- ✓ Inequality in education provision at the island caused the 1964 Zanzibar revolution, education amenities were monopolized by Arabs, and attainment of education was based on the ability to pay fees that left the majority Africans ignorant and illiterate. The Arab government denied Africans scholarships that was a preserve of Arabs and Asians that led to the revolution in 1964.
- ✓ Retrenchment of the African policemen led to the outbreak of the revolution. The Arab government discharged many African policemen and this inevitably made them jobless. This was done basing on suspicion of being disloyal, economic crisis of 1960 among others. They dismissed Africans who teamed with john Okello to pin down the Arab rule.
- ✓ The improper handover of power from the British to the Arabs caused the revolution. It should be noted that the independence granted at the island in 1963 was for the Arabs not

Africans ‘Uhuru W’arab’. This therefore meant that Africans had been side lined hence organized the revolution in 1964

- ✓ Economic domination of the island by the Asians and Arabs caused the revolution. The Asians controlled the trade and commercial activities, dominated finance and the civil service and Africans were exploited to the maximum leading to the revolution.
- ✓ The economic crisis on the island caused the revolution, it should be noted that by 1964, the prices of cloves had declined on the world market. The decline badly hit Zanzibar, poverty increased, provision of social services eg education, medical greatly dwindled/reduced. This undermined the Arab government that responded by cutting off the civil servants because it was not able to pay them leading to the outbreak of the revolution.
- ✓ Arrogance of the Arabs contributed to the outbreak of the Zanzibar revolution. The Arabs labeled the Africans as descendants of slavery and slave trade. Africans were also looked at as an inferior race hence they felt humiliated to organize a revolution by 1964.
- ✓ The ruthlessness of the Arabs contributed to the Zanzibar revolution. The Arabs enacted laws which were repressive to Africans. Africans were denied passports and visas, the ministry of internal affairs was permitted to break into the offices of opposition and access files of interests. Africans were also compelled to wear the sultan’s badge and all these created a revolutionary mood among Africans.
- ✓ Failure of constitutional means to change government led to the island revolution. There was a narrow franchise that locked out Africans from elections,the island never had functional democracy due to the existence of the monarchy headed by the sultan. Therefore islanders wanted to emulate the independence which Tanganyika got in 1961.
- ✓ Over taxation of the Africans contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. Africans paid heavy and several taxes which benefited the foreigners. The tax collection was accompanied by unfriendly means like public flogging and arrest hence laying a foundation for the 1964 revolution.
- ✓ Forced labor and poor working conditions of Africans led to the outbreak of the revolution. Africans were paid poorly in terms of wages and salaries. There was harsh supervision of the workers and no policy was put in place to improve workers conditions hence a revolution.

- ✓ The Arabs grabbed African land and this was a basis of the revolution. Big chunks of land were grabbed from Africans in order to carryout clove plantations. To make it worse, Africans were not allowed to practice clove growing on a large scale in order to avoid competition with the Arabs hence a revolution.
- ✓ The rumors about the brutalization of Africans caused a revolution. It should be noted that Arabs wanted to have a firm grip over the Africans on the island. The Arabs begun marrying the blacks in order to destroy the black race and this was to be done on 13th Jan 1964. Therefore Africans organized a revolution on 11th Jan 1964 to save their lives.
- ✓ Influence of World War II contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. The war created desire for respect of human rights and liberties, opened Africans to external better conditions, created a group of ex-servicemen like Mzee Muhammed Babu who joined the revolution to over throw the Arab regime.
- ✓ The role played by john Okello contributed to the revolution in 1964. He organized the brutalized Africans, brought on board the retrenched policemen and the workers who were poorly paid to champion the revolution.
- ✓ Role played by the afro-shiraz party (ASP) led to the outbreak of the revolution. This party was formed by Abeid Karume who organized Africans at the island and the splitter group of UMMA party led by Mzee Muhammad Babu.
- ✓ The influence of cold war politics (socialism) contributed to the Zanzibar revolution. It should be noted that the Africans at the island identified with the USSR in terms of financial assistance and this provided a fertile ground for the revolution.

ROLE OF RACISM IN THE OUTBREAK OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLT

The Zanzibar revolt begun on 11th Jan 1964 by the Africans at the island led by John Okello a Ugandan Langi. It was against the Arab dominated government of sultan Jamshid. To a greater extent, racism contributed to the revolution in the following ways;

- ✓ The historical differences between the Africans and Arabs ie the Africans were regarded as inferior and the Arabs as masters
- ✓ The Arabs dominated Zanzibar politics ie 50,000 Arabs against 250,000 Africans.
- ✓ The education inequalities/discrimination of the Africans who were taken as casual workers was a sign of racism.

- ✓ The constitutional monarchy setup by the British was racial in nature.
- ✓ Victimization/retrenchment of the African policemen was a sign of racism
- ✓ Land grabbing by the Arabs – Africans were meant to go the infertile areas and not allowed to grow cloves on a large scale.
- ✓ Forced labor imposed on the Africans
- ✓ Africans were denied franchise/voting rights
- ✓ Africans were expelled from the island/slaughtered in large numbers hence a sign of racism.
- ✓ Cutting off Zanzibar from the rest of East Africa.
- ✓ Making the Arabic an official language at the island was racist in nature ie Africans were not allowed to speak Kiswahili.
- ✓ Heavy taxes with poor collection methods was a sign of racism
- ✓ Banning of the political parties and leaving Zanzibar nationalist party as a legal party on the island was a sign of racism.

OTHER FACTORS

- ✓ Economic crisis of 1960s that led to the decline of the prices of cloves
- ✓ The personality and role of John Okello who was brave and courageous
- ✓ Premature independence granted to Zanzibar ie no plan for uniting and democratic governance.
- ✓ Cold war politics/role of USSR
- ✓ Influence of World War II

THE ROLE OF ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE OUTBREAK OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLT

- Land alienation/grabbing
- Heavy taxation
- Denial of African and grow crops on a large scale
- Trade monopoly of the Asians and the Arabs
- Economic crisis that led to the reduction in the prices of cloves
- Retrenchment that caused joblessness.

- Education monopoly of the Arabs hence creating a class of illiterates
- Forced labor imposed on African
- Sidelining Africans in the civil service.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY COLONIAL LEGACY

- Forced labor
- The improper hand over power by the British
- Over taxation
- Education imbalance
- Failure to have a constitutional monarchy
- Land grabbing/land alienation
- Treatment of Africans as slaves.
- Britain failed to address racial inequalities
- Poor working conditions of Africans

FACTORS OF THE SUCCESS OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

- ✓ The role played by john Okello contributed to the success of the revolt. He mobilized people of Zanzibar to rise against the Arabs, he planned a surprise attack against the Arab government, and he mobilized disgruntled members of ASP, UMMA to overthrow the government.
- ✓ The role played the ex-servicemen of WWII led to the success of the Zanzibar revolution. Very many people including Mzee Muhammad Babu who mobilized the nationals at the island
- ✓ Role played by the dismissed/retrenched African police men led to the success of the revolution. The Africans who were sent away from the police carried their experience and expertise to overthrow the Arab dominated government after teaming up with John Okello.
- ✓ The small size of the island helped the revolutionaries to easily succeed. It should be noted that the Zanzibar island was made up of 640 hectares and this made it easy to be captured and information could easily circulate among Africans.

- ✓ The capture of Ziwani and Mtoni armories led to the success. These were police stations where Africans captured guns and supplemented on their tools like the car springs, machete and stones hence the success.
- ✓ The capture of Mazizini radio station contributed to the success of the revolution. The radio was used to mobilize and sensitize the masses against Arabs and to draw them towards the revolutionaries.
- ✓ The revolution was secretly planned and organized hence success. The information was kept to the revolutionaries and the government was taken by surprise when the revolution occurred.
- ✓ The support given to the revolutionaries by the natives of Zanzibar led to the success. The Africans at the island were determined and united and readily accepted John Okello to lead them against the Arabs.
- ✓ The revolution was organized on a strategic day and this led to the success. The day was ending the month of Ramadan and the Arabs were busy praying in preparation for the feast. Therefore the revolution took the Arabs unexpectedly hence success.
- ✓ The numerical strength of the Africans accounts for the success. Africans were 250,000 compared to the minority Arabs of 50,000.this was easy for the majority to overrun the Arab government given their big number.
- ✓ The military weaknesses of the Arabs contributed to the success of the revolution. The Arabs had a weak police force made up of newly recruited officers who were inexperienced. The country had a very young army that could not handle matters of the emergency.
- ✓ The support given to revolutionaries by neighboring countries led the success. Countries like Tanganyika and Mozambique gave financial and military support to islanders hence success.
- ✓ The Zanzibar government did not get any support from the British who had for long supported their stay in Zanzibar. Even the Arabs from Oman were very distant and could not render the needed support on a short notice hence the success.
- ✓ The flight of sultan Jamshid contributed to the success of the revolution. It should be noted the Arab leader left the country with his cabinet and this weakened and demoralized other Arabs who lost focus on the wars.

QNS

1. Account for the defeat of Arab dominated government by 1964
2. Account for the success of the 1964 Zanzibar revolution

EFFECTS OF THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

The effects were both positive and negative

Positively;

- ✓ A new government was formed in Zanzibar and it was composed of revolutionaries to include Abeid Karume, Mzee Muhammad Babu. The revolutionary government was called the revolutionary command council (RCC)
- ✓ Genuine independence was realized at the island of Zanzibar. The Arabs and Asians were seen parking without any mercy.
- ✓ The Africans at the island realized their freedom and rights, human dignity was restored and Africans were able to take part in the political affairs of their country.
- ✓ The revolution resulted in nationalization the means of production eg land, banks, insurance companies among others. These became state owned enterprises hence Africanisation of the economy in line with the pan African movement.
- ✓ The revolution made education compulsory to all the nationals at the island. This helped to get rid of the ignorance and high rates of illiteracy.
- ✓ Kiswahili language was rejuvenated to replace the Arabic language and English spoken at the island. This explains why Obeid Karume became a vice president of Tanzania yet he could not speak any word of English.
- ✓ The Africans at the island gained paid employment in the civil service hence improving their incomes and welfare.
- ✓ The revolution into the union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika to form Tanzania in 1964. The Union was headed by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere as the president, Abeid Karume as the vice president after the merger of ASP and TANU which later transformed into Chama Chamapenduzi (CCM) in 1977
- ✓ Zanzibar was recognized by the communist especially USSR and china. These countries offered financial aid for the economic reconstruction of Zanzibar Island.

- ✓ The Africans at the island got the opportunity to own land and this led to increased crop production especially cloves.
- ✓ The government of Zanzibar started having schemes to accommodate the poor Africans and this improved the social economic welfare.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS

- ✓ Several Arabs and Asians died in an attempt to revenge against the Africans. It should be noted that about 13,000 Arabs died in the exchange of gun shots with the Africans.
- ✓ There was massive looting of the Arabs and Asian shops and this contributed to the decline of the economy. This was because the Africans lacked the art of business and could not sustain the flow of the business ventures.
- ✓ The revolution resulted into refugee crisis in the great lakes region. This was because very many people at the island trekked to Tanzania and Kenya given the increased suffering and safety of their lives.
- ✓ The revolution led to the rejection of John Okello by the islanders and throughout mainland East Africa. He was looked at as a wanderer was hunted by the islanders and declared 'a persona non grata' (unwelcomed person in a place)
- ✓ The revolution resulted into army mutinies throughout East Africa. The army in East Africa rebelled in Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya using militant approaches though they were quelled down.

MALAGASY UPRISING 1947

The Malagasy uprising was an island revolt organized against the French at the Island in 1947

The revolt was organized by a major (Merina) tribe who started at Moramongo in the eastern part of Madagascar who began by attacking the French coffee planters and the native collaborators.

Among the leaders uprising included Joana jinny (an ex-serviceman) Dr. Deputy Roseta (senior nationalist) and Jacques Rabemananjara (a popular writer and journalist)

Causes of the revolt;

- ✓ The political repression imposed on the Malagasies caused the revolt. The French used harsh and brutal rules against the Africans, Africans were denied their political rights, Africans were detained without trial, the press was censored and political parties were banned. These uncalled for policies compelled the Africans to stage an uprising against the French.
- ✓ The economic exploitation of the Africans caused the uprising. The French established companies in Madagascar which exploited the Africans. This was followed by forced labor with meager pay, over taxation became the order of the day using brutal methods of collection. These laid a foundation for the outbreak of the uprising.
- ✓ Land alienation in Madagascar made the uprising inevitable. The increased influx of the white settlers as a result of world war 11 which made the people of Madagascar to lose their land to the French. The land was used to set up plantations ie coffee plantations which made the Africans very poor because land was a source of livelihood. Therefore the Malagasies organized a revolt to reclaim their land.
- ✓ The impact of World War 11 contributed to the outbreak of the revolt. The war destroyed the European economies including France and therefore there was need for economic recovery. The war also created a class of ex-service men who had acquired military skills hence mounting pressure on the French in 1947.
- ✓ The influence of the Vietnamese war of independence of 1946- 1954 led to the uprising. The Malagasies organized a revolt against the French because of the spillover effects from Vietnam. They all shared the same problems like forced labor, over taxation and land grabbing hence leading to the outbreak of the revolution.
- ✓ The formation of MDRM (democratic movement for Malagasy renewal) led to the outbreak of the revolt. This was the main nationalist party which represented Africans in the French national assembly. The French got angered and supported a rival party ie PADESM ie party of the disinherited composed of criminals and former slaves at the Coast.
- ✓ The MDRM organized people, offered leadership, mounted pressure on the French hence causing the uprising.
- ✓ The exceptional role of the Merina tribe contributed to the outbreak of the revolt. This was the major tribe in Madagascar that played a key organizational role in the revolt. The

tribe begun by cutting the coffee plantations of the French in Moramongo, killed the French coffee planters, attacked the native collaborators using stones, sticks and spears. The actions of the tribe incited people into the uprising.

- ✓ The desire for self-rule by the Malagasies contributed to the outbreak of the revolt. It should be noted that the natives of the island made several appeals to the French by organizing a memorandum to the Paris government. It should be noted that the French paid a deaf ear to the grievances of the Africans and therefore the only option was an uprising in 1947.
- ✓ The secret French plan of resettling foreigners in Madagascar led to the revolt. It should be noted that the French were planning to resettle the Jews, people from West Indies and the Kabylians from Algeria. The Malagasies organized a revolution in order to protect their land and independence from the foreigners.
- ✓ The negative impact of the assimilation policy led to the 1947 Malagasy uprising. This policy demanded that Africans adopt the French culture and language at the expense of the African culture. Assimilation created classes in Madagascar and this was viewed by Africans as despising their traditional setup hence the uprising to recover their cherished culture.
- ✓ The low levels of education in Madagascar led to the outbreak of the uprising. The French deliberately offered inferior education to the Africans in Madagascar. The elementary education made it hard if not impossible for the Africans to compete with the whites hence leading to the outbreak of the revolution.
- ✓ The influence of the Indonesian war of independence contributed to the outbreak of the revolt. The Malagasies were inspired to open up war against the French like the Indonesia had done against the Dutch whose independence was confirmed in 1950.
- ✓ The impact of Atlantic charter of 1941 laid foundation to the Malagasy uprising. The charter advocated for self-determination of the colonised world Malagasy inclusive. Therefore the charter gave strong impetus/desire of the demand for African rights.
- ✓ The contribution of the traditional chiefs in Madagascar contributed to the outbreak of the revolt. These included the Mpanjakas who united people, mobilized them and gave them the courage to fight for their independence.

- ✓ The declaration of Malagasy as an overseas colony of France led to the outbreak of the revolt. The French national assembly at Paris declared Malagasy by constitution to be part of France in 1946. This made Africans to mount pressure on the French to maintain African purity.
- ✓ The creation of separate electoral colleges by the French contributed to the revolts. These colleges compelled Africans and the French to elect leaders separately. However these elections did not yield the expectations of the Africans hence the Malagasy uprising.
- ✓ The influence of other earlier resistance at the island led to the outbreak of the uprising. The islanders had organized wars of resistance eg the Franco-Hova against foreign domination. They had been defeated but they never gave up the spirit of self-determination hence the Malagasy uprising.

Qn. 'The French administrative policies were primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Malagasy war.' Discuss

ROLE OF THE FRENCH POLICIES

- The French assimilation policy
- The economic exploitation of Africans
- Creation of separate electoral colleges
- The declaration of Malagasy as an overseas French colony
- Land grabbing that made Africans lose land
- The secret plan of settling foreigners (Jews, Kabylians and West Indies)
- The unfair representation of the Malagasies in the French assembly
- Forced labor
- The rejection of the Malagasy memorandum by the French assembly
- Over taxation
- The French collaboration with the party of the disinherited (PADESM)

OTHER FACTORS

- Role of MDRM
- Desire of independence
- Influence of the Indonesian uprising against the Dutch

- The influence of the Vietnamese was that begun in 1946
- The role of the traditional chiefs (Mpanjankas)
- The impact of World War 11
- Role of the Atlantic charter

Effects of the Malagasy uprising

Positive effects;

- ✓ The war led to the enactment of amnesties and remissions at the island by 1957. This involved pardoning the prisoners and many were set free.
- ✓ The uprising prepared the Malagasies for independence following the 1958 referendum organized by Charles De-Gualle. This allowed the emergence of president Philibert who offered leadership to the islanders by 1960.
- ✓ The war attracted press sympathy especially from the French liberals like Louis Blanc who condemned the French stay in Africa.
- ✓ The revolt led to the rise of new political groups in Madagascar eg the democratic socialist party (PSD) which laid a foundation for political activism in Madagascar.
- ✓ The war made Africans on the continent to utterly criticize the French colonial policies and this weakened the French stay and it began on the program of de-colonizing Africa.
- ✓ The war led to the dissolution of the separate electoral colleges for the French and the Malagasies. It therefore led to the emergence of universal human suffrage where all adults were allowed to vote.
- ✓ The Malagasy autonomy (freedom) was recognized by the French Union assembly in Paris and this compelled France to begin granting independence to its colonies in Africa.
- ✓ The war influenced similar outbreaks of revolts in French colonies eg Algeria in 1954, Tunisia and morocco in 1956.

Negative effects

- ✓ The war led to massive destruction of lives and property in Madagascar ie children and women were massacred.
- ✓ The war led to the defeat of the Malagasies after 21months of resistance against the French.

- ✓ The French courts were established in Madagascar to try war combatants at the island and many Africans were arrested upon being found guilty.
- ✓ The war caused trauma and psychological suffering among the Malagasies which is still present in the country today. The day 29th march is a memorable day in Madagascar because very many citizens were killed at the hands of the French.
- ✓ The war led to condemnation of death of the revolt leader like Rabemananjara who was a popular writer and a journalist.
- ✓ The war worsened ethnic tension in Madagascar between the Merina tribe and the former slaves at the island. This explains the delayed independence for Madagascar up to 1960.

Qns

1. Examine the causes and consequences of 1947 Malagasy uprising
2. Account for the defeat of the Malagasy uprising

REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE MALAGASY UPRISING

- ✓ Ethnic antagonisms to weaken the rebels stirred up by the French administration leading the defeat of the Malagasy uprising.
- ✓ The death of manpower, the French admitted to have killed 11,000 people but the MDRM claimed the French killed 80,000 people which led to the defeat of the Malagasy uprising.
- ✓ The Malagasy uprising was not planned, uncoordinated and unorganized thus leading to its defeat in 1947.
- ✓ The military strength of French settlers, the French were militarily strong with powerful weapons. This led to the defeat of the Malagasies who were using spears, sticks, and stones to attack and kill French coffee planters and administrators.
- ✓ Creation of a rival party by the French ie the disinherited Madagascars sponsored by the French administration led to disunity hence its defeat.
- ✓ The imprisonment of the three nationalist deputies who included Jacques Rabemananjara. It should be noted that they were condemned to death but instead imprisoned for some time in France. This led to disunity among the people hence the defeat.

- ✓ Massive arrests of nationalist leaders (Antananarivo). The French organised against a trial charging 77 officials of MDRM and this demoralized the Malagasies hence leading to defeat.
- ✓ Foreign support ie white settlers from West Indies, Algerians (Kabylian), Jewish who gave both military and financial support to the French hence the defeat.
- ✓ The capture of the impenetrable forest in the eastern part of the country led to the defeat of the Malagasies.
- ✓ The disunity among the tribes in Madagascar. It should be noted that the Merina tribe was the one that participated most in the uprising of 1947 hence leading to its defeat.
- ✓ The economic weakness of Madagascar led to its defeat. This was seen when there was destruction of property by the rebels. This also led to famine and made people weak and unemployed hence their defeat.

THE LIBYAN COUP OF 1969

The Libyan coup of 1969 was organized against the government of king Idris, a puppet leader of the western powers. The coup plotters were headed by a 29 year old (col. Muamar Gaddafi assisted Abdul Salaam Jalloud under the umbrella of the unionist officers (FUO)

THE CAUSES OF THE LIBYAN COUP

Economic factors;

- ✓ The foreign plunder of Libyan resources led to the outbreak of the coup. It should be noted that king Idris allowed the British and the Americans, the Turkish and the Italians to milk the Libyan economic resources especially oil and little was given to the Libyan nationals. Therefore the FOU wanted to end this economic neo-colonialism.
- ✓ Corruption and embezzlement of the national funds led to the outbreak of the coup. It ought to be noted that the government of King Idris failed to handle the corrupt offices who enriched themselves at the expense of national interests. King Idris amassed a lot of wealth and most of his money was kept in foreign banks. This compelled the army to demand for the effective use of the national resources by 1969.
- ✓ The repatriation of profits by foreign companies contributed to the coup. The foreign companies siphoned Libya's resources to their mother countries and the country

experienced financial crisis. This heighted the poverty levels among the Libyans which was unbearable by 1969.

- ✓ Poverty that engulfed the Libyan society led to the overthrow of king Idris. King Idris did very little if any to modernize the Libyan economy. He neglected the industrial sector and a few industries which existed were processing in nature. The social welfare of the people dropped very low and this was a basis for the Libyan coup.
- ✓ King Idris neglected the industrial sector and this led to this downfall in 1969. It should be noted that for a period of 18 years in power, most of the industries were owned by the Americans and the British. The country highly depended on foreign manufactured goods with very expensive to the ordinary people hence the coup of 1969.
- ✓ The wide spread unemployment partly caused the 1969 Libyan coup. The Libyan youth and fresh graduates were languishing in poverty, were not accommodated in the civil service and the private sector. This made the welfare of the Libyans to be very low and miserable which necessitated the outbreak of the coup by 1969.
- ✓ The high levels of income inequality in Libya occasioned the coup. King Idris failed to redistribute the economic resources equally and majority of the population experienced economic imbalance. The government officials survived on bribes, became very rich and lived pompous lifestyles. This compelled the intervention of the army by 1969.
- ✓ The poor infrastructure throughout Libya led to the down fall of king Idris. The transport sector was poorly facilitated, schools and hospitals were neglected yet these were the forms of societal transformation. This made king Idris to lose public sympathy by 1969.
- ✓ The extravagancy of king Idris laid a foundation to the outbreak of the 1969 coup. The government officials wasted national resources for their personal benefits. They organized formal parties which were very expensive. Cabinet ministers bought expensive vehicles and constructed magnificent buildings at the expense of the poor nationals leading to the coup.
- ✓ High taxes imposed on the Libyans caused the overthrow of king Idris. In an attempt to raise money for the provision of the social and economic services the Libyans were made to pay a number of taxes, the tax collectors and assessors were very harsh and money ended up in a few hands. This created a revolutionary mood to overthrow the government of king Idris.

- ✓ Regional imbalance in Libya caused the overthrow of king Idris. The different regions like Tripoli, Benghazi, Fezzan, Sirte were not moving at the same level and this created disunity in the country hence occasioning the coup of 1969.

OTHER FACTORS

- ✓ King Idris' links with NATO led to his own downfall. King Idris allowed the Americans and other foreign powers to use the Wheelus Airfield. The NATO powers had established a military training ground in this area which annoyed the Libyans because it claimed 1200 square miles hence the coup.
- ✓ The formation of the Free Unionist Movement made the coup inevitable. This was formed by the army led by Muammar Gadhafi. It was under the umbrella of the free unionist officers while in Egypt which targeted equality in society hence overthrowing of the government of king Idris.
- ✓ The rise of determined, flamboyant and ambitious men made the coup inevitable. These included Muamar Gadhafi, his colleagues Abdul salaam Jalloud, among others. They planned the coup and for many years mobilized the
- ✓ The undemocratic nature of king Idris making the coup inevitable. He became too intolerant to the opposition, he banned the political parties ie the progressive national congress party, arrested the members of the opposition and this forced the army to overthrow his government in 1969.
- ✓ The need for complete independence by the Libyans made the coup inevitable. It should be noted that Libya was granted independence in 1951 but placed under the hands of the monarchy which was cosmetic. Therefore the Libyans wanted their economic independence which remained in the hands of the Americans and the British hence overthrowing the government.
- ✓ The general poor conditions of the army caused the removal of king Idris from power. The army was poorly facilitated and characterized by poor pay and lack of uniforms. Therefore the free unionist officers organized the coup to improve the welfare of the army.
- ✓ The impact of the Egyptian revolution and the influence of Nasserism led to the overthrow of king Idris. It should be noted that Gamel Nasser provided military training

to the free unionist officers, he gave financial and military support to Gadhafi and this quickened the overthrow of king Idris.

- ✓ The desire by Gadhafi to purify Islam made the coup inevitable. It should be noted that Libya had been dominated by western cultures eg gambling, adultery and alcoholism. All these negated the teachings of Islam and Gadhafi wanted to create a theocratic state based on the teachings of Islam.
- ✓ King Idris practiced nepotism and sectarianism in Libya and this led to the coup of 1969. All fatty jobs were given to the family members and the close relatives not excluding his henchmen. This annoyed the army to organize a coup to bring fairness and equality in Libya.
- ✓ The frequent foreign trips made by king Idris led to his own down fall in 1969. It is on record that king Idris regularly moved out of the country and while in Turkey, the junior officers like Muamar Gadhafi and Jalloud exploited this vacuum and overthrew his government.

THE EFFECTS OF THE COUP

POSITIVE POLITICAL EFFECTS;

- ✓ The Libyan monarchy was abolished and king Idris was forced to go exile. This led to establishment of a republican government based on constitutional law hence the dictatorial policies of Idris came to an end.
- ✓ The revolutionary command council was established (RCC) to govern Libya. This was headed by Gadhafi who set up social, political and economic sanity in Libya.
- ✓ The local population in Libya got involved in government affairs and this was called Jamahairya theory ie the establishment of a welfare state.
- ✓ Gadhafi nationalized a foreign investment in Libya and the owners were not compensated. Both the Americans and the British were sent away by 1970 and Libya was free from foreign domination.
- ✓ Gadhafi introduced the third universal theory in Libya. This emphasized the green revolution that was aimed at turning the country to be agriculturally productive to mitigate the effects of famine.

- ✓ Gadhafi fought neo-colonialism in Libya. This was done by the rejection of foreign aid and concentrating on the country's national resources for development.
- ✓ Gadhafi tried to terminate the politics of regionalism in Libya. This was done through ensuring regional balanced development in all areas, eg Sirte, Fezzan, Tripoli,Benghazi etc
- ✓ Gadhafi was able to build a personal cult in Libya. This is attributed to his popularity in the country; he became a house hold property because he was generous and charitable.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS;

- ✓ Gadhafi greatly modernized the agricultural sector to improve on food security. This was done by allocating the largest percentage of the national budget to agriculture that made Libya to become self-reliant in food production.
- ✓ Libya underwent land reclamation during the reign of Gadhafi. All desert areas were reclaimed through afforestation in order to check the rate of erosion and increase rainfall totals. Gadhafi transported soil from other countries in order to transform the desert areas ie the green revolution that made the country to became green belt.
- ✓ The revolutionary government established cooperative movements to coordinate the marketing boards in Libya. This led to the provision of fertilizers, machinery and improved seeds, agricultural banks were set up in order to offer credit facilities to the farmers without interest.
- ✓ The government paid attention to the industrial sector. Many light and heavy industries were setup in Libya to manufacture goods for the local people. Oil refineries were set up in Libya, plastic industries, iron and steel were built to create employment and increase the GDP.
- ✓ The government developed the infrastructure and changed the outlook of Libya. There was construction of first class roads to link to the various places. The rail way transport was constructed to reach the coast line and this eased the movement and transportation of goods and services.
- ✓ The revolutionary government carried out extensive training of the local man power. This was done to replace the foreigners who had been sent away after the 1969 coup increasing management and efficiency in the country.

SOCIAL EFFECTS;

- ✓ The education was registered in Libya, education was made free and compulsory which minimized the levels of ignorance and illiteracy. Technical schools and colleges were set up by Gadhafi to make Libya self reliant.
- ✓ The health sector was extended to improve the rural areas of Libya. Libya offered free and quality medical services, doctors and nurses were highly paid and the ratio of patients to doctors was very small. This helped to increase life expectancy of the Libyans.
- ✓ The government of Gadhafi undertook a housing and construction program in Libya. This was intended to cater for the accommodation of the nationals and every Libyan was assured of a decent accommodation and therefore the welfare of the citizens was improved.
- ✓ The status of women was improved by Gadhafi government. The women trained as military cadres and were used as Gadhafi body guards. May of the women were employed in the civil service and this uplifted their status.
- ✓ Gadhafi started a cultural revolution in Libya. This was implemented through the destruction of foreign ideologies and the Islamic law was imposed on the people. Alcoholism was prohibited and all the spirits were banned in the country.

Qn Describe the social and economic policies established by Muammar Gadhafi in Libya.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE LIBYAN COUP

- ✓ The support received from Egypt under Gamel Nasser led to the success. The free unionist officers were allowed to train, establish a military base in Egypt, Nasser gave financial and military support to the coup leading to the success.
- ✓ The role played by the free unionist officers contributed to the success. This was umbrella group of soldiers who hatched the plans of overthrowing the regime of Idris. They were very secretive for a period of 10years hence overthrew of government by surprise.
- ✓ The weakness of the army contributed to the success. This is evidenced by the army's failure to handle issues of emergency because the soldiers were preparing to go abroad

for training. The army also lacked the morale; it was poorly facilitated and had a poor chain of command leading to the success of the revolution.

- ✓ The weak intelligence network, the spy network never had any information regarding the coup planners yet they spent a period of 10 years organizing for the overthrow of king Idris government.
- ✓ The entire Libyan community had got fed up with the government of king Idris. This is justified by the existence of high levels of unemployment, poverty and neo-colonialism. Therefore the free unionist officers overthrew the government due to the massive support of the nationals.
- ✓ The capture of radio Benghazi contributed to the success of the coup. The radio was used to send revolutionary messages and mobilized the masses to resist the government forces hence the success.
- ✓ The long term planning of the coup contributed to the success. Gadhafi and his colleagues like Abdul Salaam Jalloud took a period of 10 years planning to overthrow the government. They studied the weaknesses and strengths of the government and were very careful to avoid mistakes on the strategic day.
- ✓ The military skills possessed by the coup plotters led to the success. Gadhafi was an army man by training who graduated in 1963. He was a signals officer who even recommended the government of Idris to buy fire arms in preparation of the coup. This wealth of experience helped the military officers to monitor the activities of king Idris.
- ✓ The strategic day of the coup made the down fall of king Idris inevitable. It was organized on 1st September when the king was out of the country (Turkey) yet on 2nd September the young officers were to be sent abroad to attend courses in Britain. The excitement made the army to have little resistance hence success.
- ✓ The high degree of secrecy displayed by the coup plotters led to the success. They denied themselves alcohol, gambling, night clubs and they concentrated on prayers. They avoided activities that would make them get suspected and even played cards to confuse the army and king Idris' henchmen.
- ✓ The foreign travels of the king made the coup a success. Most of the time the king was out of the country and on first September he was out of the country in Turkey. The coup plotters used this opportunity to overthrow his government.

- ✓ The capture of the military camp Gunarda also led to the success of the coup. This was a military store equipped with military hardware. This was used by the professional coup plotters to pin down the government of king Idris.

WEAKNESSES OF GADHAFI/NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE 1969 LIBYAN COUP

- ✓ Gadhafi became a dictator in Libya. No elections were held since 1960 to 2011. He visited several African countries preaching the gospel of life presidency eg Uganda. His leadership was characterized by killing of opposition leaders which entrenched in power.
- ✓ He executed several political opponents both at home and abroad. He sent specialized and qualified assassins to hunt down his enemies in Rome, London and many others were killed at home in Libya.
- ✓ Gadhafi ruled Libya without a national parliament. He governed the country using martial law (military law) all the information, policies government programs in the country were executed by Gadhafi ie a one man show. He also interfered with the powers of the judiciary and their government projects hence becoming unpopular even to the outside world.
- ✓ Gadhafi promoted tribalism and nepotism in Libya. Gadhafi's sons ie Saif Ali was in control of the government business, Saadi was in control of the national football and his son Salim Gadhafi was in charge of security and Abdallah Senus was the chief intelligence officer. Therefore the government of Libya rotated around Gadhafi's family.
- ✓ Gadhafi promoted religious intolerance and antagonism in the country. There was no respect for other religions like Christianity and some of the churches were turned into mosques. This was against the freedom of worship and the non-Muslims openly criticized Gadhafi.
- ✓ Gadhafi promoted the Jamahirya revolution which was a state of a common people. However this philosophy was characterized by a lot of bureaucracy (red tapes) and therefore it made the common people unable to solve the problems at the grassroots. This policy was also dominated by Gadhafi's relatives and ministers.
- ✓ Gadhafi confiscated private property and banned retail trade in Libya. This weakened the middle class which undermined the credibility of Gadhafi by 2011.

- ✓ It is claimed that Gadhafi was sexually lustful and he molested women. Almost all women who worked around and with Gadhafi were used sexually. The body guards were turned into concubines and he would engage them in sex at his own will hence undermining his stay in power.
- ✓ Gadhaf's communist tendencies caused him conflicts with the capitalist world. It should be noted that Gadhafi was not in good terms with USA especially during the regime of President Ronald Regan, Barak Obama. He caused conflicts in France under Sarkozy, he de-campaigned the UN and regarded it as a council of terrorists and all these led to the downfall of Gadhafi.
- ✓ Gadhafi promoted corruption and over accumulation of wealth by his family. A lot of Libya's money was saved in foreign banks e.g. Switzerland bank, Gadhafi had many investments outside Libya e.g. the Tropical Bank of Africa and there were branches in Uganda.
- ✓ Gadhafi suppressed the opposition leaders and forced many out of Libya. Those who remained were easily locked up and killed hence undermining his credibility.
- ✓ Gadhafi made Libya to adopt a controversial foreign policy especially by associating with the murderous regimes in the world. These included Amin of Uganda between 1971-1979, the Irish republic that oppressed people, his expansionist policy in Chad between 1965 and 1982 during the regime of France Tombalbaye.
- ✓ Gadhafi also over stayed in power, from 1969 -2011. This period was characterized by a lot of suffering, disharmony and fear (phobia) among the nationals without organizing elections.

- ✓ Gadhafi was wasteful and extravagant in Libya. He used the national resources to satisfy his ego. A lot of money was used in supporting unpopular regimes in Africa. He spent trillions of dollars for personal entertainment and his son spent a lot to host Rihana on his birthday while the masses were languishing in poverty.
- ✓ Gadhafi over spent on the military and this led to underdevelopment in the country. All the recent technologies in the army sector were procured from Israel in order to oppress

and suppress the opposition. Part of the budget of Libya was used to develop other countries and this under mined Gadhafi stay in power.

- ✓ Gadhafi crowned himself as the lion of Africa and this was interpreted by the Libyans as a life presidency. Gadhafi was grooming his children as leaders in order to create a dynasty in Libya. This is evidenced by the many tittles of Gadhafi i.e. "King of Kings" which he acquired in 2002 and this made the Libyans to lose hope in the country.
- ✓ The combined efforts of the Americans and other powers contributed to the overthrow of Gadhafi. Gadhafi was hunted and later killed amidst criticisms from the Arab world.

Other Factors that caused Gadafi's Downfall

1. Influence of other successful coups e.g. the 1965 in Algeria and Congo, and other multiple coups on the continent.

Qn

Account for the downfall of Muammar Gadafi in 2011

To what extent was Muammar Gadafi responsible for his own downfall in 2011? (2-sided)

The Mau – Mau Uprising (1952-1955)

The Mau – Mau rebellion was organized by the Kenyan nationalists against the British Colonial Masters. The leaders of the uprising included Jomo Kenyatta, Wariuhu Itote (General China), Fred Kubai, Dedan Kimathi, Paul Ngei. The leading tribe was the Kikuyu which was joined by other tribes later. It was also composed of the "ANAKE WA 40" i.e. the group of 40

MAU –MAU is a Kiswahili word which meant "**Muzungu Ayende Ulaya Mwafrika Apate Uhuru**."

CAUSES OF THE MAU –MAU REBELLION

- ✓ Land grabbing/land orientation contributed to the outbreak of the MAU –MAU rebellion. It should be noted that the white settlers grabbed over 1,000,000 acres of land and this meant over 2,000,000 Kenyans landless. Kenyans were sent to reserve comps, infertile areas and this led to increased suffering which made the rebellion inevitable.

The role of land question in causing the Mau-Mau rebellion

- ✓ The land question was responsible for the establishment of the Kipande system in Kenya. This was set up in 1919 as a means of regulating the African movement to the Kenya high lands. Africans were forced to carry identity cards and those who failed were arrested and subjected to hard work creating a revolutionary mood.
- ✓ The land question led to the creation of reserves in Kenya. These reserves were overcrowded and congested amidst poor social services hence leading to loss of lives. This compelled the Kenyans to join the Mau-Mau uprising.
- ✓ The land question compelled the Kenyans to offer forced labor under herd human conditions. The work ranged from construction of public works i.e. roads, working on white plantations and drainage systems. Many Africans were paid little for the labor offered hence turning against the British Colonial Masters.
- ✓ African's loss of land worsened the poverty levels in Kenya. The Africans could not have the land to till or to seek agricultural employment. This caused discontent among the Africans to organize the rebellion.
- ✓ The absence of land among the Kenyans increased food shortage in the country. The Africans did not have agricultural land and had no alternative sources of food. This increased famine, misery and hopelessness among the Kenyans forcing them to resort to the rebellion.
- ✓ The Kenyans were not allowed to grow profitable cash crops such as pyrethrum, tea and coffee. Such crops were reserved for the white settlers who had large expanses of land in the fertile areas. The Africans interpreted this as a deliberate attempt to impoverish them hence the Mau –Mau rebellion in 1952.
- ✓ The land question led to rural urban migration by the aggrieved peasants. These Kenyans who had lost land moved to towns where they encountered numerous problems such as housing shortages, racial discrimination and urban unemployment.
- ✓ African women continued to be arrested as prostitutes due to desperate conditions from land. This forced the urban idle dwellers to join the rebellion in order to uplift the standards of living of the women.
- ✓ The land question in Kenya forced the Africans to destock the farms. The colonial government urged that Africans did not own adequate land to keep large herds of cattle

because they would trespass on the white lands. This affected the economic life of the Kenyan pastoralists to join the rebellion.

- ✓ The British government forced the Kenyans to carryout unpleasant soil conservation measures. The Kenyans were forced to cultivate in areas where the soil was infertile, farming along the gentle slopes was a preserve of the white settlers, terracing was discouraged among the Africans which worsened the famine crisis in the country.
- ✓ The lands less Africans were exposed to untold unemployment which grossly angered the Kikuyu. The British government enacted laws which forced Kenyans to be repatriated back to the villages if they failed to get jobs within the first three months in Nairobi. Other laws compelled the Kenyan police to arrest anybody suspected to be unemployed laying a foundation of the rebellion in 1952.
- ✓ The landless Kenyans resorted to crime commitment in the country. The jobless and landless Kenyans started stealing in order to survive and many found themselves in prison hence this could not be tolerated by 1952.
- ✓ The role of land is further emphasized in the Kikuyu language through composing hyms. These songs reminded the Kikuyu to recover their lost land that was given to them by their ancestors the "Gikuyu" and therefore the Kikuyu reasoned that their gods wouldn't be happy if they don't fight for their land hence the Mau –Mau rebellion.

OTHER CAUSES

- ✓ The desire for complete independence contributed to the outbreak of the Mau – Mau rebellion. The nationalists in Kenya like Dedan Kimathi commented in 1953 that;

'I don't lead rebels but I lead Africans who want self-government' I lead them because God did not create any nation to be ruled by any other forever." These Africans wanted to govern themselves and determine their political destiny.

- ✓ The role played by the ex-servicemen caused the Mau –Mau rebellion. The ex-servicemen were facing problems like unemployment, low standards of living than they enjoyed in the colonial army. They felt that the war time service was not properly rewarded and therefore they joined the elites to turn the tables against the British Colonial Masters.

- ✓ Discrimination of the Kenyans in the political and economic affairs caused the Mau – Mau rebellion. The colonialists eliminated Africans in the politics and only collaborated with the chiefs who were their puppets. It is also true that qualified Kenyans could not secure any job and therefore this made them to get determined to fight the British in 1952.
- ✓ The cultural arrogance of the white settlers led to the Mau-Mau uprising. The British promoted their supremacy and Africans were treated as inferiors in all aspects and the whites commented.
- ✓ "We are here to stay and the other races must accept that fact with all that it applies. Therefore the Africans got convinced that racial arrogance could only be stopped through a revolution.
- ✓ Over taxation of the Kenyans gave birth to the Mau –Mau rebellion. Despite the stinking poverty among the Africans, the Kenyans were made to pay numerous taxes that were accompanied by harsh means of collection. The taxes paid were only used to provide services for the white settlers. This was seen as exploitation of man leading to the armed rebellion.
- ✓ The unfair representation of Kenyans in LEGCO contributed to the Mau-Mau rebellion. The Kenyans were given limited chance to representation in the LEGCO which was dominated by white settlers with limited voices of the common people in Kenya. Therefore the Mau –Mau rebellion to raise the African slot in the British parliament
- ✓ The rise of Kenya elites/nationalists caused the Mau-Mau rebellion. These included Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai etc. These mobilized the Kenyans and provided organizational leadership aimed at destroying the British Empire in Kenya.
- ✓ The disrespect of the African culture in Kenya occasioned the Mau-Mau rebellion. The Kenyan traditional chiefs were replaced by colonial governors and administrators. The missionaries (Scottish) imposed Christianity on the Kenyans who cherished their traditional beliefs & Kenyans were scorned as being "satanic"OR devilish. The missionaries opposed circumcision of the females, polygamy etc & Africans rose up to protect their culture.
- ✓ The secret Kikuyu plan/ambition contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion. It should be noted that the Kikuyu wanted to dominate Kenya's politics and deny them independence.

This explains why the Mau Mau rebellion began among the tribe (Kikuyu) hence making the rebellion inevitable.

- ✓ The failure of peaceful means to secure Kenya's independence contributed to the Mau Mau rebellion. It ought to be noted that the Kenyans presented advances for reforms however, these were not respected by the British colonial masters. Therefore the language of violence was staged in 1952 for the Kenyans to acquire their independence.
- ✓ The role played by the Kenya African Union (KAU) made the Mau Mau rebellion inevitable. This party under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta at the helm (top) Sensitized, mobilized and solicited for support that shook the British by 1952.
- ✓ The influence of the West African Nationalism made the rebellion inevitable. The British had established reforms in Gold Coast and Nigeria in 1946 i.e. the Burns and Richards Constitutions which had established reforms in West Africa. These had spillover effects on the Kenyans making the rebellion inevitable.
- ✓ The influence of the Asian nationalism and the support of Jawaharlal Nehru made the rebellion inevitable. It should be noted that Nehru physically visited Kenya and took Jomo Kenyatta through the methods of independence struggle, extended financial and military support to the rebellion leading to the uprising.
- ✓ The impact of the 1952 Egyptian revolution led to the Mau Mau rebellion. Gamel Nasser of Egypt offered Radio Cairo to the Kenyans and gave them a Kiswahili program to spread anti-colonial propaganda which insinuated the rebellion in 1952.
- ✓ The favorable vegetation and landscape of Kenya made the rebellion inevitable. Kenya is characterized by the bamboo forests on Mountain Kenya and Aberdare which were good for guerilla war fare. It allowed the hit and run tactics of the Kikuyu hence making the rebellion inevitable.

Qns. Account for the outbreak of the 1952-55 Mau Mau uprising

To what extent did Jawaharlal Nehru contribute to the growth of African nationalism? (2-sided)

- Define the nationalism
- Give a clear stand point
- Give the roles of Nehru

- Give the role of other factors
- A valid conclusion

ROLES OF NEHRU TO THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Nehru was a prime minister of India upon its independence in 1947 under the presidency of Mahatma Gandhi. The roles included;

1. Nehru encouraged the African nationalists to form radical political parties as it was with the Indian Congress Party. These included UPC in Uganda in 1959, CPP in 1949 which united people towards independence.

2. Nehru encouraged African nationalists to use non-violent methods of Gandhi i.e. Gandhism to demand for independence. These included peaceful demonstrations and strikes e.g. in South Africa, Ghana which weakened the colonial masters.

3. India under Nehru provided leadership training to African nationalists. This is evident in Kenya where Nehru oriented Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Milton Obote of Uganda also benefited from Nehru's leadership training.

4. Nehru condemned racism using the green pamphlet of Gandhi in Africa. This included South Africa during the Apartheid regime, Southern Rhodesia during Ian Smith's reign leading to the decolonization of Africa.

5. Nehru influenced the Indian government to extend financial assistance to African nationalists. This was done through the establishment of the African fund by the Indian government e.g. to Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau.

6. India under Nehru encouraged African nationalists to use Christianity in the demand for independence. These included Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Bishop Sothole Ndyabaningi of Southern Rhodesia and Bishop Peraudin of Rwanda.

7. Nehru condemned the films which undermined the black race all over the world using the Indian Committee. This was done using the denied of license and films such as "African Adventure", the Snows of Mt. Kilimanjaro, "the African Queen." Below the Sahara."

8. Nehru used the platform of the Common Wealth Meetings to increase its membership. Therefore Nehru put pressure on Britain to grant independence to African countries and increased membership in CHOGM.

9. Nehru influenced the Indian government to extend education scholarships to African Students. These included Kirunda Kivejinja, Patrice Lumumba, Kintu Musoke etc. These provided able leadership in their respective countries.

10. Nehru was a political counselor to African nationalists. These included Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamel Nasser of Egypt and thus had an indelible impact on the growth of African nationalism.

11. Nehru influenced African nationalists to adopt militarism where peace failed. This was witnessed in Kenya during the Mau Mau rebellion, Portuguese colonies leading to the growth of African nationalism.

12. Nehru used the platform of the United Nations to condemn colonialism in Africa. The UN reciprocated by imposing sanctions on the colonial masters declaring a decade of independence.

13. Nehru influenced the calling of the Bandung Conference of 1955. The Bandung Conference was attended by Africans which exposed their consciousness.

AREAS OF EMPHASIS

1. Ethiopia
   - Crisis
   - Coup
   - Dergue
   - Restoration

   - Egypt
   - Algeria
   - African problems

2. Zanzibar
   - Causes
   - Factor contribution
   - Impact

Success of the coup

3. Libya
   - Causes of the coup
   - Achievements of Gaddafi
   - Success of the coup

4. Malagasy
   - Causes
   - Factor contribution

5. Rwanda
   - Causes
   - Factor contribution

REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE MAU MAU REBELLION (1956)

1. The Mau Mau fighters were ill prepared in terms of weapons and this account for their defeat. It is on record that the Africans used Pangas, spears, arrows and a few riffles which could not match with the British modern guns.

2. The Mau Mau fighters lacked external bases from where they would train the soldiers. It was very hard to coordinate within Kenya due to the tight spy network of the British.

3. The arrest and imprisonment of the Mau Mau leaders accounts for the defeat of Mau Mau. These included Dedan Kimathi and Jomo Kenyatta which demoralized the fighters.

4. The colonial administration (British) had a large armed force recruited from the neighboring countries. These comprised of the King African Riffles (KAR) of the queen. They included people like Idi Amin from Uganda that helped in the defeat of the Mau Mau.

5. Colonial propaganda tactics employed by the British contributed to the defeat of the Mau Mau. The British tribalized the uprising to be a Kikuyu affair that made other tribes to shun away hence the defeat.

=The presence of the African collaborator undermined the success of the rebellion. These comprised of the traditional chiefs among the Kalenjin and this undermined consolidated unity against the British.

6. The ethnic differences within the ranks of the Mau Mau fighters led to the defeat of the Mau Mau. It was on record that the songs composed were in Kikuyu language. This drifted away other tribes due to the Kikuyu dominance leading to their defeat.

7. The confinement of Africans in the detention camps/reserves led to the defeat of the Mau Mau fighters. This denied access to information that limited interaction with other Africans and the sharing of ideas.

8. The role of the white settlers in Kenya led to the defeat of Mau Mau. These had been brought to Kenya following the negative effects of the WW II that had shuttered the economy of Europe. The influx of the white settlers in Kenya therefore reinforced the British forces leading to the defeat of the Mau Mau.

9. The cutting down of trees in areas where the Mau Mau operated made the defeat inevitable. The forests had been used as guerilla war zone convenient for the war tactics of hit and run. Therefore, the cutting of the forests made the Mau Mau unable to attack the British by surprise.

10. Frustration among the Mau Mau fighters led to the defeat of the uprising. It ought to be noted that people from other tribes had been promised leadership within the ranks of Mau Mau which didn't come to pass. Therefore the Kikuyu were left alone at the eleventh hour leading to their defeat.

11. Lack of support from the neighboring countries contributed to the defeat of the Mau Mau rebellion. These countries were still under colonialism and were under tight supervision of their colonial masters which made used it very difficult to extend military, financial and moral support.

12. Public execution of the Mau Mau fighter led to the defeat of the rebellion. Majority of the Kenyans were scared by the public shooting, and assassination of the Mau Mau fighters leading to the defeat.

Qn: Account for the defeat of the Mau Mau uprising by 1956

EFFECTS OF THE MAU MAU UPRISING

Positive effects

1. The rebellion set an environment for political negotiations between the Africans and the British. The two parties negotiated as equals laying ground from independence in 1963.

2. The British were able to organize elections to involve the native Kenyans. This was done between 1957 and 1958 where Africans were elected in the legislative council (LEGCO)

3. The British carried out political reforms in Kenya as a result of the Mau Mau rebellion. African administrators were increased in the legislative assembly and this contained the pressure on the part of the British.

4. The rebellion forced the British to lift a ban on the political activities in Kenya. Africans were allowed to organize mass rallies and this inspired a faster move to independence.

5. Africans were able to gain access to land after the Mau Mau rebellion. This led to improvement in agriculture production e.g. between 1954 to 1959, coffee production among the Kenyans increased which led to improved social welfare.

6. The rebellion paved way fo the formation of political parties in Kenya. These included Kenya African National Union (KANU), Kenya African Development Union (KADU) which fostered the rights of the Kenyan citizens.

7. The rebellion led to the release and political prisoners in Kenya. This promoted justice and order in the country i.e. over 173 prisoners were released.

8. The rebellion resulted into the later independence of Kenya in December 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as the President of Kenya.

9. Over taxation of the Kenyans ended and the methods of tax collection became more friendly and progressive.

10. The rebellion forced the British to adopt constitutional reforms as it was in West Africa. This was implemented by governors Lyton & Lennox which increased African representation in the LEGCO to 14 members.

11. The rebellion influenced the British government to grant independence to its colonies in Africa. These included Ghana in 1957, Uganda in 1962, Tanganyika in 1961. This was done in fear and panic of possible revolutions elsewhere.

12. Racial inequality was ended in Kenya. This was reflected in color bar in industries i.e. payment of wages based on color, segregation in education also ended.

13. The rebellion made Jomo Kenyatta to become very popular in Kenya following his arrest for seven years. Jomo Kenyatta was seen as a hero and champion for Kenya's independence and he was therefore elected to power while in prison.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS

1. The uprising led to creation of detention camps in Kenya where a large number of Africans were bundled i.e. over 90,000 Africans. The conditions in the detention camps were far from good and the Kikuyu people were severely tortured hence increased suffering.

2. The rebellion led to the declaration of the state of emergence in Kenya. This was instituted by the British administrative governor and it covered most parts of Central Kenya where the Kikuyu lived. It was accompanied by restricted hours of movement by Africans and it led to several arrests.

3. The rebellion led to the settlement of Africans in fortified villages. This stretched from Nyeriland to Kiambu and it was intended not to make Africans interact.

4. The rebellion led to the arrest and imprisonment of the key leaders of the rebellion. These included Jomo Kenyatta, General China, Tom Mboya, Dedan Kimathi, among others. It should however be noted that their arrest turned them to be celebrated heroes in Kenya.

5. The rebellion led to the banning of African formed parties. Those included Kenya Union KAU in 1953 on suspicion of engineering the rebellion and this delayed Kenya's independence.

6. The rebellion led to loss of lives in Kenya. 11,000 Mau Mau fighters died, 1900 royal Africans, 1,000 government troops, 60 Europeans and 29 Asian civilians perished.

7. Several villages in Kenya were brought to utter destruction. This was intended to deny the Kenyans hiding places like forests by the British administrators and consequently it led to the massacring of the Kikuyu.

8. The rebellion led to a decline in the level of investment. The whites were scared to invest in the country, repatriated their businesses to other countries due to the economic insecurity in Kenya.

9. The war was every expensive to the British and the Kenyans. It consumed a total of about 50 million pounds spent in suppressing the rebellion.

10. The Mau Mau rebellion was defeated in 1956 and this made Africans to lose prestige in the country and it lowered the chance of Kenya's early independence.

11. The Mau Mau leaders were publically executed by the British officials e.g. in January 1954, General China was arrested and publicly hunged, Dedan Kimathi was killed in 1956. This left a terrifying moment in the memory of Kenyans which has caused trauma to date.

12. The rebellion paralyzed the formation of other political parties in Kenya due to fear of arrest, imprisonment and killing. Some of the parties were regionally and tribally based with no serious agenda to the independence struggle.

Qn1 How did the Mau Mau rebellion of 1952-1955 affect the people of Kenya?

- Background of Mau Mau
- Negative and positive effects with a clear stand point

2. Examine the impact of the Mau Mau rebellion
3. To what extent was the Mau Mau rebellion nationalistic?

Qn 1 Examine the role of the Mau Mau rebellion to the decolonization of Kenya.

2. To what extent did the Mau Mau uprising contribute to the growth of nationalism in Kenya?

THE ROLE OF THE MAU MAU REBELLION TO THE DECOLONIZATION OF KENYA

1. The rebellion laid a foundation for Kenya's self-determination which it attained in 1963 due to the pressure mounted on the British.
2. The rebellion made the British to institute economic reforms in Kenya like allowing the Kenyans to get involved in the growing of cash crops such as coffee which elevated their standards of living to finance the independence struggles.
3. The uprising led to a creation foundation of a multi-racial cabinet in Kenya i.e. Composition of British, Africans and Asians. This made the Kenyan elites to advocate for independence.
4. The Kenyans were enfranchised i.e. given the voting rights which had been denied to them before the rebellion. Therefore, the Kenyans got the opportunity to elect their own representatives to the national assembly in 1957.
5. The rebellion led to the rise of new political leaders like Tom Mboya, Oginga Odinga, Jomo Kenyatta. These provided leadership at the time of independence.
6. The rebellion influenced the formation of new political parties in Kenya e.g. KANU, KADU and these provided leadership at the time of independence.

7. The rebellion influenced the Asian Community to support Kenya's national cause for independence in a bid to continuously invest in the country after the departure of the British Colonial Masters.

8. The arrest of the leaders like Kenyatta, Dedan Kimathi compelled the Kenyans to increase their nationalistic sentiments for Kenya's independence. These were regarded as heroes for Kenya's independence.

9. The rebellion militarized Kenya's nationalism and increased radicalism to Kenya's independence i.e. Kenya adopted military approach to demand for independence contrary to the negotiations that made other countries to delay to get their independence.

10. The rebellion influenced the British colonial masters to relax on their policies e.g. there was abolition of forced labor and the Kipande system which had hardened the life of Kenyans.

11. The rebellion raised international concern from the UNO that was formed in 1945 with the cardinal aim of ensuring peace in the world and total decolonization of the world.

12. The rebellion caused the African and the Asian concern in the Common Wealth of Nations meetings. Countries like India, China who were legitimate members of the Common Wealth mounted pressure on the British to increase membership by granting independence.

Other factors

1. The emergence and role of the independent church movement in Kenya e.g. the African Independent Pentecostal Church formed in 1910 mounted pressure on the British and the Christian Missionaries who practiced segregation.

2. The role of trade Unions in Kenya i.e. these trade unions advocated for the welfare of the workers in the different-fields and this compelled the British to drop the discriminative policy of color bar (i.e. payment of wages and salary based on color).

3. The role of independent schools established i.e. Kikuyu Education Association. This produced a class of elites who interpreted the British Colonial language hence joined the struggle for Kenya's independence.

4. The impact of the Italo Ethiopian Crisis of 1935-1941 impacted on Kenya's independence i.e. the crisis made Africans to adopt military approaches to colonialism, intensified the use of the press by compelling Jomo Kenyatta to write articles condemning colonialism.

5. The return of Jomo Kenyatta in 1946 from diaspora and his assumption of leadership contributed to Kenya's independence. It ought to be noted that Kenyatta attended the Manchester Conference of 1945 which equipped nationalists with leadership skills, encouraged them to come to Africa and offer leadership among others.

6. The impact of the 1952 Egyptian revolution/Role of General Nasser. Nasser gave the Kenyans a program on radio Cairo to spread anti-colonial sentiments against the British leading to independence.

7. The influence of Ghana's independence /the victory of the West African nationalism. It is on record that the British had instituted the Burns Constitution in Ghana and Richards Constitution in Nigeria and these had spill over-effects on Kenya's struggle for independence.

8. The contribution of the mass media and the press e.g. Taita Leo, Sauti Ya Muafrika, the Nyanza times. This intensified Kenya's struggle because the newspapers were the mirrors of society.

9. The contribution of the British labour Government after 1945 under Clement Atlee. He was liberal, advocated for the British withdraw from Africa and demanded for self-determination in British Colonies.

10. The impact of the Macmillan speech of 1960. This preached the concept of irreversible wind of change blowing across the continent demanding African independence. Therefore he called upon colonial masters to quickly grant independence.

11. The impact of the Lancaster Conference of 1960-1962. This was the head quarter of the colonial office of the British where Africans presented their grievances and it yielded positively in 1963.

12. The role of OAU formed on 25th May 1953 contributed to Kenya's independence in December 1963. The OAU formed a liberation committee with headquarters in Dar-Es-Salaam under the chairmanship of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere which condemned colonialism in Africa.

13. The role of Kiswahili language spoken by the Kenyans. This united the people towards the national cause for Kenya's independence.

Assignment

Qn. To what extent was the Mau Mau rebellion Nationalistic?

To a larger extent, Mau Mau rebellion was a nationalistic movement due to the following reasons;

- ✓ The Mau Mau fighters demanded to end the Kipande system which was the desire by many other Kenyans.
- ✓ They wanted an improvement in the conditions of Africans and this can't be dismissed as a tribal affair.
- ✓ The Mau Mau made an effort to recruit members of other tribes into the movement e.g. Dedan Kimathi sent his ambassadors to make recruitments in Nyanza, Ukombani & Coastal areas, few recruits however were made.
- ✓ The Kikuyu fought so as to get fair representation on the legislative, and executive councils. This was a desire for all Kenyans hence it was nationalistic in nature.
- ✓ The Mau Mau fought against land alienation and aimed at returning land into hands of Africans. This had not only affected the Kikuyu but also other tribes like the Nandi, Massai, the issue of land was nationalistic but not a tribal affair.
- ✓ They demanded a share in growth of profitable cash crops and in retail trade which had been monopolized by white settlers. Hence not being an ethnic demand.

- ✓ When political parties were made official as a result of pressure from the Mau Mau , other tribes also benefited by forming a regional political parties.
- ✓ Eventually, the British granted independence to Kenyans and this didn't benefit only Kikuyu fighters so the Mau Mau can be credited for having laid a foundation for Kenyans but not Kikuyu independence.
- ✓ The Mau Mau helped to alert the British that Kenyans wanted majority rule. They therefore started preparing Kenyans for self-governance thus did not only benefit the kikuyu but all Kenyans hence nationalistic movement.
- ✓ Not all top leaders of Mau Mau were Kikuyu e.g. Paul Ngei was an Akamba and in 1958 was arrested and tried along with other Kikuyu nationalists like Kenyatta and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment.
- ✓ Benefits of Mau Mau didn't go to the Kikuyu alone but also other tribes e.g racial discrimination was reduced and later dropped and Africans were appointed into civil service.

However to a smaller extent, Mau Mau was ethnic group as shown below;

- ✓ The name Mau Mau was from Kikuyu vocabulary meaning "Go Go"
- ✓ When the rebellion broke out, the Kikuyu were demoted from civil service.
- ✓ Mau Mau was mainly practiced by Kikuyu
- ✓ Kikuyu hyms emphasized that they were fighting for Kikuyu land given to them by Gikuyu.
- ✓ Most of the descendants arrested were Kikuyu
- ✓ The forty group members which was the heart of the Mau Mau was comprised of Kikuyu radicals.
- ✓ Kikuyu terrorist activities were not only directed against whites but also some Africans of other tribes e.g. the assassination of Tora, Mbotela and Ambrose Ofaye.
- ✓ Female circumcision was one of the major grievances eg that led to the Mau Mau which was mainly practiced by the kikuyu.
- ✓ The kikuyu had a secret plan of taking over political power from the whites ruling Kenya after the white man's departure

THE PAN AFRICAN MOVEMENT SINCE 1900 – PRESENT (PAM)

This refers to the black intellectual movement that was intended to jointly unite the blacks all over the world. It was founded in 1900 by men like William Svlvester, George Padmore from Trinidad and Tobago, WEB Dubois from the Caribbean Islands and many others who were renowned lawyers and professors. They were interested in the pride of African race.

Pan Africanism is divided into two phases i.e. the 1st phase was in the Diaspora and conferences took place in Europe and America i.e. London Conference of 1900, 1919 Paris Conference, 1921 Conference held in the capitals of Paris, London and Brussels ,1927 New York Conference and the 1945 Manchester Conference (5th Pac).

NB: The Manchester Conference was dominated by many African delegates from both African and the European countries and this compelled Marcus Garvey to comment that "if Europe is for Europeans, then the Negroes must claim Africa as their home."

2nd Phase of Pan Africanism

This phase was dominated by all Africans and it took place in Africa. This is because PAM had got a home base when Ghana got its independence in 1957 and it begun with the 1958 conference in Accra i.e. the April for African Independent Countries, December for all African People's Conference (APPC).

Aims and objectives of PAM

- It aimed at promoting and forging unity for all the blacks all over the world regardless of their education and economic levels.
- To restore the black man's respect and dignity that had been white washed by slavery and colonial policies.
- To build and establish a strong loyalty in Africa as opposed to individual and divisive interest hence encouraging the theme "Africa for Africans".
- To establish a strong voice against the white domination and discrimination.
- To promote international relations with other races and continents without enslaving Africans
- To promote the respect of the rights of Africans on the African continent and world over.
- To uplift the African interests and the desire to develop

- To eradicate interstate conflicts out of the entire African continent
- To ensure the respect and dignity of African sovereignty and territorial integrity and independence.
- To uplift African standards of living and curb down the biting poverty on the continent.
- To enforce economic integration in order to end the economic exploitation of Africans.
- To Promote technological transfer from the new world to Africa i.e. Africans getting to know the recent sciences and technology to promote development and propel themselves.

FACTORS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF PAN AFRICANISM

1. European colonialism and exploitative polices
2. The influence of the blacks in the Diaspora i.e. George Padmore
3. The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935
4. The impact of the Manchester Conference in 1945
5. The role of the black students movement (WASU) since 1945
6. The impact of the Apartheid Policy in South Africa in 1948
7. The role of the Egyptian revolution under Nasser in 1952
8. The impact of Bandung Conference of 1955
9. Ghana's independence/Role of Nkrumah 1957
10. The Independence of Guinea Conakry/Role of Sekou Toure 1958
11. The role of the Accra Conference of 1958
12. The role of mass media and the press
13. The formation of political parties
14. The role of artists/MDD i.e. Lucky Dube, Chinua Achebe
15. The role of African elites/impact of western education
16. The formation of OAU in 1963

FACTORS EXPLAINED

1. European colonialism and the exploitative policies led to the development of PAM. These policies were the same in all African countries and they compelled the blacks to share experiences and lay strategies that brought them together to fight colonialism jointly.
2. The influence of the blacks in the diaspora like WEB Dubois, William Sylvester, Marcus Garvey. These mobilized the Africans and organized conferences to show them the need for unity and chase the colonial masters for African independence i.e. in Portuguese colonies, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

3. The impact of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 led to the growth of the Pan Africanism. Ethiopia served as African model for independence and confirmed African solidarity evidenced by the strikes in west Africa led by Nnamdi Azikiwe hence it inspired the African continent to help Ethiopians to restore their independence in 1941.
4. The role of the Manchester Conference in 1945 greatly influenced the development of Pan Africanism. This conference was organized by WEB Dubois assisted by Nkrumah and it was vastly attended by African delegates. The conference inspired Africans to become militaristic in order to get independence, it equipped African leaders with leadership skills and encouraged African nationalists to form political parties.
5. The renewed activities of WASU in 1945 led to the development of Pan Africanism. This body identified itself with all Africans that were struggling for their independence; they extended moral, financial and military support to the suffering African's leading to the development of PAM.
6. The impact of the apartheid regime in South Africa since 1948 led to the development of Pan Africanism. This was discriminative and segregative that made the people of South Africa to suffer in established Bantustans where life was very hard. Therefore African countries under OAU and the Front line states offered assistance to help South Africa get its independence leading to Pan Africanism.
7. The role of Egyptian revolution under Nasser in 1952 led to the development of PAM Nasser upon getting complete independence for Egypt, extended support to liberation movements i.e. FLN of Algeria, offered radio Cairo to be used by the MAU MAU fighters, provided asylum to suffering Africans like Musaazi of Uganda hence Pan Africanism.
8. The positive impact of the Bandung Conference in 1955 influenced the development of PAM. This conference was attended by African Nationalists like Nasser, Jomo Kenyatta, Kamuzu Banda, it brought Africans together, consolidated their unity and increased their commitment for independence hence PAM.
9. Ghana's independence in 1957 led to the development of PAM. Ghana's independence under Nkrumah made a strong stride in African history by helping African countries like Guinea conakry through financial aid using the budget of Ghana, this forced Africans to form close ties like Ghana-Guinea, Mali Union.

10. The independence of Guinea conakry/role of Sekou Toure led to PAM. Sekou Toure encouraged Africans to form unions and federations that would address African's problems. He adopted African socialism that was embraced by Julius Nyerere under ujaama, this brought Africans together to promote economic prosperity that finally weakened colonialism in Africa.
11. The role of the Accra Conference held in Ghana in 1958 influenced the formation of PAM. The conference united both independent and struggling African countries. It shifted Pan Africanism from the diaspora and it got a home in Africa, it militarized African nationalism and encouraged the formation of political parties to capture power from the colonialists.
12. The role of the press and mass media had a strong impact on the growth of PAM. The news papers like Western African pilot by Nnamdi Azikibwe, the Accra evening news by NKrumah and the radio Cairo by Nasser that spread anti-colonial propaganda, all revived African culture and condemned colonialism thereby rekindling the spirit of nationalism.
13. The formation of political parties in Africa led to the development of these parties like PAIGC, MPLA, FLN, FRELIMO, UNC solicited for assistance from external sources like super powers, united Africans and sensitized them about the need for independence, adopted radical strategies to attain independence.
14. The role of artists MDD such as Lucky Dube, Chinua Achebe, these brought messages that condemned colonialists. These writers encouraged Africans to identify themselves with their culture and resist from cultural manipulation leading to the development of PAM.
15. The role of African elites/western education greatly influenced the development of PAM. The Africans who acquired colonial education like Kamuzu Banda, Kenneth Kaunda got exposed to the life of the colonial world; they exchanged ideas with the civilized and democratic people in France and America. These ideas changed the thinking of African elites to unite and form African government.
16. The formation of OAU in 1963 led to the growth of PAM. OAU united Africans on the continent, it decolonized African countries through extension of aids using its liberation committees, it imposed sanctions on colonial masters in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, it encouraged economic prosperity through formation of regional bodies like COMESA, EAC that united Africans.

Qn.

1. Account for the development of PAM since 1945
2. Explain the factors that led to the growth of PAM

MANCHESTER CONFERENCE OF 1945 (THE 5th PAC)

The M.C was the fifth and the last conference held in the diaspora, it was chaired by WEB Dubois and assisted by George Padmore and kwame as co-secretaries. It was attended by very many African delegates including Jomo Kenyatta & Patrice Lumumba etc.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF M.C TO THE GROWTH OF PAM

- ✓ The conference brought the aspect of "Africa for Africans", this is because the conference was dominated by nationalists from various parts of African continent leading to PAM.
- ✓ The conference equipped African leaders with leadership skills, this included Nkrumah, Kamuzu Banda which they used in their respective countries to offer leadership role that made the countries get independence.
- ✓ It militarized African nationalism; the liberation fighters in Africa were encouraged to adopt military approaches in order to uproot colonialism i.e. Mau Mau fighters in Kenya, FLN in Algeria and Kamuzu Banda in Nyasa Land (Malawi).
- ✓ It encouraged African nationalists to form massive political parties that led to the respective countries to independence which include CPP by Nkrumah in 1949, Milton Obote formed UPC in 1959, NCNC in Nigeria, these parties sensitized and united Africans for a common cause of independence.
- ✓ The conference made the Africans to agree to sell the idea of PAM to Africa. It therefore shifted Pan Africanism from the diaspora to Africa and it laid a foundation in the acquisition of a base in Ghana following the independence of Ghana in 1957.
- ✓ The conference brought together Africans for Africa and those in the diaspora. It fostered unity among Africans in order to share strengths to fight colonial tendencies in Africa.
- ✓ It encouraged African delegates to return home and provide leadership to the independence struggles. This is clearly evident when the attendants like Jomo Kenyatta, Nkwame Nkrumah came back to prepare their countries for independence.

- ✓ It encouraged African delegates to include the masses in the struggle for independence. The African freedom fighters involved the illiterate peasants into the struggle against European domination i.e. KAU, UGCC.
- ✓ It openly criticized and launched intellectual attacks on the negative colonial policies within and outside Africa. The conference condemned the in human exploitation of Africans through forced labor, land grabbing, denial of political rights.
- ✓ It advocated for cultural revival among the African states. The delegates were concerned with the abuse of African cultural values like introduction of Christianity and colonialism by Europeans.
- ✓ The congress led to the formation of the West African national secretariat in 1945. This was composed of West African politicians staying in UK and France such as Danquah and these condemned the atrocities of the white men.
- ✓ It encouraged African unity and solidarity; this helped Africans to corporate in order to win their independence the way Liberia and Ethiopia enjoyed the fruits of independence.
- ✓ The Manchester Conference laid a foundation for future conferences i.e. Accra conference of April and December in 1958 that was organized by Kwame Nkrumah, the Cairo conference, the O.A.U 1963 Conference in Addis Ababa and all these brought Africans together to fight for their independence.
- ✓ It strongly condemned racism in African and the African continent. The representatives agreed to treat the black race equally and therefore attacked the apartheid regime in South Africa.
- ✓ It increased the activities of WASU which had been formed in 1920 by Soyinke Ladipo, WASU became more radical and attacked colonial masters allover Africa and demanded the implementation of the 1941 Atlantic charter.

Qn

1. To what extent did the 5th PAC contribute to the growth of PAM?
2. Examine the impact of the Manchester Conference to the development of PAM?
3. Assess the role of the Manchester Conference to the growth of African nationalism.
4. Explain the significance/role of the 1945 conference in Manchester to the development of Pan Africanism.
5. Discuss the role of Mc to the development of PAM

NB: Qn. 1, 2, 3 are two sided and 4and 5 are one sided.

ACCRA CONFERENCE 1958

The Accra Conference was held in April 1958 for the independent African countries and in December for All African people's conference (AAPC) that included over 25 African countries. The major aim of these conferences was to fight colonialism, racism and bring Africans together and even Nelson Mandela escaped from South Africa to attend the conference.

It was organized shortly after the independence of Ghana and Nkrumah clearly stated that "Today is African independence and tomorrow is the United States of Africa".

ROLE/IMPACT OF THE ACCRA CONFERENCE

The conference provided a plat form for the interaction of African nationalists, they shared a lot in common regarding the strategies for achieving African independence, and leaders like Patrice Lumumba were equipped with leadership skills.

- It emphasized consolidated unity of Africans, Africans were equipped with cultural and economic skills that would make them unite and move forward as a continent. The nationalists agreed to establish a base for PAM in Africa and therefore Ghana became a home for revolutionary fighters in Africa.
- The theme of the conference made Pan Africanism practical and militant; it quickened the demand for immediate independence that led to a speedy move to fight colonialism.
- The delegates at the conference agreed to ensure the respect for African leaders, territorial integrity and sovereignty of African countries. Africans therefore agreed to help one another to solve intestate conflicts.
- The independent African states pledged to offer moral, financial and military support to African nationalists. This increased the revolutionary spirit among African nationalist geared towards independence. it groomed African nationalists and this made them to manage their affairs as committed and foresighted leaders in their countries leading to independence.

- It condemned colonial rule in the strongest terms. The participants jointly condemned the negative policies in Africa more so in Portuguese Africa, South Africa and South Rhodesia.
- It enhanced the policy of NAM among the African states. This was intended to prevent African countries to join cold war politics which would divide African countries on ideological grounds of the west and east and Nkrumah said "we face forward not East or west".
- It bridged the gap between the Arab North and the black South, Nkrumah went ahead and unified the blacks of the south with the Arab North i.e. Algeria, Egypt etc in order to fight for the independence of African continent.
- It acted as a basis for the formation of O.A.U in 1963. It was through the Accra conference that Africans thought of having a regional body that would bring African countries together to fight for their independence.
- It also laid a foundation for other African conferences i.e. November 1959 Conference in Cairo, 1960 Tunisia Conference, 1963 in Addis-Ababa intended to unite Africans.
- It laid a foundation for regional groups i.e. Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union and this brought Africans together. Also ECOWAS was formed in 1976 to promote regional cooperation in Africa.
- It depicted Ghana as a model country which inspired other African nationalists to fight for their independence due to the numerous changes economically, politically and socially which were copied by countries like Angola (1961), Mozambique (1964) and Guinea Bissau in1963.
- It encouraged the Africans religious leaders in the struggle for independence. Leaders in Africa agreed that religious leaders would bring people together through their preaching and also encouraged African leaders to think beyond political lines.
- It inspired militant nationalism in Africa. It encouraged the formation of radical liberation movements in Africa i.e. SWAPO, ZANU, MPLA, FREELIMO which finally weakened colonialism and led to independence.

Qn.

1. To what extent did Accra conference contribute to the growth of PAM?
2. How far did Nkrumah contribute to the advancement of PAM between 1945 to 1972?

- Nkrumah attended MC in 1945 and contributed to its resolutions like shifting Pan Africanism from the diaspora to Africa, forming political parties which he did in 1949.
- He was a brain behind the formation of Ghana, Guinea, Mali Union that emphasized African unity geared towards PAN Africanism.
- He appointed George Padmore to be his adviser on African issues from Trinidad.
- Nkrumah gave a 10m pound loan to Guinea Conakry in 1958 when the French had cut ties from his country i.e. (Sekou Toure).
- He gave scholarships to Africans and this increased the level of literacy in Africa, ending poverty and empowering Africans economically.
- Nkrumah extended financial, material and propaganda support to nationalists and liberation fighters i.e. ANC in South Africa.
- He opposed secessionist movements in Africa i.e. Katanga secession of 1960 – 1963 hence encouraging continental democracy in Africa.
- Nkrumah laid a ground and mooted the idea of the United States of Africa which was geared towards Pan Africanism.
- He expressed solidarity with the blacks in Southern Rhodesia ie current Zimbabwe when he sent the army to fight the government of Ian Smith.
- Key provided military bases and training grounds for the liberation fighters in Africa to organize for their independence.
- He provided political asylum and assisted the political fugitives to settle and this helped to organize themselves in order to attack their colonial masters.
- He condemned nuclear tests in Algeria during the liberation war. He did this using the platform of the UN.
- He changed the name gold coast to Ghana in memory of the ancient Ghana kingdom which was a direct reflection of the objectives of PAM to revive African culture.
- He organized and hosted the number of conferences including AAPC in December 1958 that brought Africans together.
- He married an African lady from Egypt on the advice of Nasser, Fatia hence embracing African modernity and cross cultural management.
- He was a strong supporter of NAM which in turn boosted PAM

- ❖ He condemned neo-colonialism in Africa and referred to it as secondary form of colonialism that had to be fought by Africans in the strongest terms.
- ❖ He stimulated Pan African sentiments through his writings of Articles i.e. "Africans must unite", "we move forward and backward never".

Qn: Examine the role of Sekou Toure to the growth of PAfricanism

- Sekou Toure was born in 1922 and he was the 1st President of Guinea Conakry that attained its independence in 1958. To a greater extent, he contributed to the rise of PAM as seen below;
- He stressed the need to unite in democratic organizations men and women irrespective of their differences
- He condemned the racist policies of the French as undemocratic and invited Africans to oppose them.
- He advocated for the African unity and opposed the French Balkanisation (Fragmentation) on the continent that brought the Africans together.
- He opposed the French federation of bringing the French colonies under one administration which would promote neo-colonialism.
- He strongly supported the 1958 referendum in which Guinea Conakry voted "No" for her Independence and this destroyed the French colonial bondage.
- He helped to create Ghana- Mali union and this was a gesture towards the integration of African countries.
- He gave Nkrumah political asylum and later made him to be a co-president in Guinea Conakry after the 1966 Coup in Ghana.
- He was a strong supporter of the Casablanca bloc to form the United States of Africa that later became the O.A.U.
- He played a role in the formation of RDA that helped Ivory coast to attain independence.
- He played a role in the 1958 AAPC in Ghana that laid a foundation to dismantle colonial rule.

Factors that delayed PAM to have impact on Africa before 1945

- ✓ Pan African Conferences were held in Europe and N. America and Africans from the continent could not attend due to the restrictions from the whites. This limited the exposure of Pan Africanism.
- ✓ PAM lacked support from the few independent African states i.e. Ethiopia and Liberia. This is because these countries were facing internal problems Like Ethiopia between 1935 and 1941 when Italy invaded it making PAM more theoretical than practical.
- ✓ PAM was originally a movement of intellectuals i.e. WEB Dubois, George Pad more, William Sylvester in the Diaspora, therefore, the uneducated peasants were ignored, their ideas were not represented and this undermined the popularity of PAM in its initial stages.
- ✓ The wide spread illiteracy and ignorance on the entire African continent greatly affected PAM by 1945. Africans were largely characterized by few people who would conceive the idea of PAM in its depth and it became difficult to sensitize the masses about the alien (foreign) thing as they claimed.
- ✓ Lack of a propaganda base in Africa before 1945 accounts for the limited impact of PAM. There was no place where Africans would meet to discuss the affairs of their continent until Ghana became independent in 1957 and it provided a base for the movement.
- ✓ The poor infrastructural development in Africa was an inhibiting factor for PAM. Transport and communication was still very poor, under developed and this limited the scale of interaction and dissemination of information about PAM and its objectives.
- ✓ The negative influence of colonial powers in Africa greatly undermined the impact of PAM. The colonialists looked at PAM as sabotage to their stay in Africa that would inspire self rule, therefore this led to the arrest of several nationalists linked to PAM like Nkrumah, Lumumba etc.
- ✓ Low levels of Patriotism, particularly before World War II. It should be noted that many Africans succumbed to colonialism and feared to oppose it hence this limited the operation of PAM in Africa and this was left to the people in the diaspora.
- ✓ Language barrier also made the movement to have less impact on the African continent. Africans lacked a language which the common people would understand as the founders

used the language of their colonial masters i.e. from Europe and America, therefore Africans were detached from the body (movement) due to communication incompetence.

- ✓ Ideological differences among the leading personalities of PAM affected its development. It is true that all the founders agreed on aims and objectives of PAM, but often disagreed on the methods to achieve the objectives e..g WEB Dubois was a moderate and believed in peace, advocated for the rights of slaves where as Marcus Garvey was a radical and preferred violence and use of force to achieve independence in Africa. This militated against the development of PAM.
- ✓ PAM before 1945 had been perceived as a brief movement aimed at promoting the interests of the blacks in the diaspora. The native Africans always looked at the movement as an organization of strangers who did not have the original African culture at heart hence it was opposed in the early stages.
- ✓ The black descendants in the new world experienced financial constraints. They lacked adequate resources and work force to spread the idea of Pan- Africanism. This explains why PAM and its activities remained on paper for a long time as the resources were very limited to finance its development.
- ✓ The colonial policies in Africa introduced by the Europeans could not allow PAM to have a leveled ground. These policies divided Africans and groomed politicians who created hatred and bickering. This was very true in the British colonies where divide and rule was practiced, the French and the Portuguese colonies where assimilation policy that took a centre stage hence dividing Africans not to unite.
- ✓ The native Africans of the time were politically backward and ignorant of the rights they were to enjoy. They treated whites as a godly race and therefore it is not surprising that their consciousness took long to be aroused for consolidated unity.

CHALLENGES OF PAM FROM 1945

The area of operation is too big i.e. from the Caribbean, N. America, Europe, West Indies and Africa hence this limited the effective operation of PAM.

- ❖ African societies lacked a fairly developed cash economy that would be used to finance the activities of PAM. The African societies therefore were weakened by the European colonial policies.

- Lack of militant nationalism on the African continent. This was only realized after World War II i.e. by ex-service men and the emergence of intellectuals that attended the MC.
- Lack of indigenous African political culture of purpose. The Africans were forced to adopt the western political culture like the multi-party politics and disguised democracy which would not solve the African problems but only divided them.
- The heterogeneous nature of the Africans in terms of race, tribe i.e. Africa has the blacks, coloreds, white and Indians. Also so many languages are spoken on the African continent and with a variety of religious views which can't foster the gospel of PAM.
- There was a problem of regionalism in Africa. Nkrumah and Nasser advocated for the integration of all Africans into the United States of Africa as the pioneers of PAM proposed. Others like Azikiwe of Nigeria opposed this and considered smaller groupings hence leading to smaller organizations i.e. EAC, COMESA, SADC and ECOWAS.
- The impact of civil wars divided the African states and affected unity and cooperation i.e the 1967-1970 Biafra secession, 1960 Katanga secession divided Africans as some countries in Africa were in support of the destruction of those countries.
- The inter-state and personal rivalries in Africa have dragged down PAM. African leaders were seen supporting the subversive activities of the rebels in different countries and cases in this category include Uganda and Rwanda, being accused of supporting the Nyamurenge to overthrow the government of Laurent kabila.
- The weaknesses of OAU impacted negatively of PAM, OAU was never perfect since its inception, it was economically and politically weak, it had no army etc amidst ideological differences.
- The differences in the level of development among the Africans, stronger economies like Egypt, Ivory Coast and Nigeria were not willing to share their resources with the poor countries like Burundi, Uganda and Mozambique which hampered unity.
- Bad governance which surrounded the African continent; this was witnessed in the violation of human rights in Uganda under Idi Amin Dada, Mobutu Seseko of Zaire. This was a reflection of colonial oppressive rule of the Europeans on the African continent hence a challenge of PAM.
- Neo-colonialism has further impacted negatively on PAM. The former colonial masters and the industrialized nations of the world have intensified their materials and this has

undermined development which can't bring about effective economic prosperity as advanced by the pioneers by PAM.

- The Independent States have been divided along Anglo-phone and Francophone lines, these countries adopted foreign cultures as they have been made vulnerable to the dictates of their former foreign masters instead of addressing their local problems.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAM

1. Assess the contribution of PAM up to 1963
2. To what extent has PAM fulfilled the aims and objectives of its founders?
3. Discuss the achievements of PAM since 1945

- The PAM led to decolonization of the African continent. Ghana was decolonized in 1957 and other African countries followed with South Africa being de-colonized lastly in 1994, hence the movement gained independence for all African countries and this was a great achievement.
- The activities of PAM made many Africans in the diaspora to return home from Europe and America. Marcus Garvey advocated for the back to Africa as a slogan and this forced many Africans to return, George Padmore became a citizen of Ghana and other nationalists like kamuzu Banda (Malawi) returned home.
- PAM created unity between Africans and Arabs, this solidarity and unity was showed when Nkrumah convened the 2nd Accra conference in 1958. These united Africans and fastened the rate of decolonization on the African continent.
- It was through the activities of O.A.U which was part of PAM that Africa got the continental body in 1963. After MC of 1945, Kwame Nkrumah became an active member of PAM and advocated for the United States of Africa. This came after the coalition of Monrovia and Casablanca forming a loose confederation that would solve the problems of colonialism.
- PAM achieved in holding several conferences that brought Africans together. It begun with the MC; Accra conference of 1958 and 1960 Tunis conference and these discussed the way forward of the black people to achieve self rule hence an achievement.
- PAM led to development of regional integrations which brought Africans together. These included the Magreb region, SADC, ECOWAS etc. these bodies still exist despite the

challenges they faced. The setting up of these economic integrations was to bring Africans together and speed up the achievements of PAM developments.

- PAM intervened in the various conflicts on the African continent in order to reduce disunity. These included civil wars in Nigeria 1967-1970, the Congo civil war 1965, in Angola and Mozambique were all silenced by PAM'S efforts therefore stability was created on the African continent.
- PAM succeeded in producing the Africans who were secretary generals at the UNO and this included Boutros Ghali and Kofi Anan of Ghana. These Africans spoke vehemently in the same voice in international fora for the voice of the voiceless Africans hence uplifting the dignity of the African race.
- It condemned the racist governments in Africa more so in South Africa during the apartheid regime, the racist government of Ian Smith of South Rhodesia and it also fought the atrocities of Don Salazar in Portuguese Africa.
- It condemned military coups and political assassinations in Africa. A case in point was President Olympio of Togo who was assassinated in 1963, Patrice Lumumba assassinated in 1961 during the Katanga secession. The condemnation of political coups and assassinations was a great achievement of PAM.
- It defended and preserved African culture. African languages like Kiswahili, Zulu have been developed to enhance interaction and communication in Africa with a view of preserving the culture, several books have been written and published in various languages as a result of PAM and the Bureau of African languages was established in Kampala.
- PAM proposed the construction of Trans African highway project. This was meant to develop and improve transport network in Africa. It was to start from Mombasa through Uganda, DRC, CAR, Cameron to Nigeria, it was aimed at easing mobility and unifying people on top of improving trade.
- PAM promoted peace and stability in Africa although the newly independent African states experienced civil wars and military coups. PAM tried to come up with workable solutions to end instabilities. A case in point was Angola, Mozambique, Chad and Sudan which experienced civil wars.

- The movement fought neo-colonialism and its negative impact on the Africans. This started right from Accra conference where neo-colonialism was condemned strongly. Africans were encouraged to decrease relationships with their colonial masters and Nkrumah described this as the worst and the dangerous form of imperialism and appealed to the African states to fight it with all their strengths.
- PAM has stayed for a long period of time and this is a great achievement. Its long stay is attributed to the strong state togetherness among African leaders by evolving from a loose confederation of OAU to AU which is a major continental organization.

FAILURES/WEAKNESSES OF PAM

- PAM failed to completely end slavery in Africa e.g. countries like Sudan, Morocco, Chad, Mauritania have consistently practiced slavery and this is a failure of PAM.
- Africans have not been accorded the respect and dignity they deserve in the world. Sectarianism and racism still exist on the continent, blacks are not fully represented in games and sports. Africans teams are considered inferior unlike their counter parts in Europe and America which are regarded superior and this difference brings Africans to be looked down.
- The movement failed to convince all the blacks to return to Africa from the diaspora. Many of these could not return because of the extreme poverty on the continent. Only those few who returned like George Padmore were to assess the performance of PAM, but not stay in Africa. Hence the failure to bring back the people of the black origin was the failure of PAM.
- PAM failed to achieve total independence of the African continent and this is manifested by the Western Sahara which is still struggling to uproot the policies of Morocco from its politics. PAM was expected to fight for the independence of all Africans on the continent and this failure to liberate western Sahara is an indicator of a weak movement.

- The movement has not fully united the blacks and the Arabs on the continent. There is still a conflict between the blacks and Arabs of the North of Africa as they look at themselves as being different races, the blacks associate Arabs with slavery and this is a failure of the movement clearly seen in Northern and South Sudan.

- PAM failed to achieve a common market and a single currency for the entire continent. This has made it difficult and has caused competition and protectionism. It has therefore failed to bring about a uniform currency that has made African countries to stagger and dwindle at the expense of stronger currency like dollars, Euros, pounds, Yen etc.
- PAM has failed to end conflicts on the African continent .Africa is still a continent of restless conflicts like those that exist between Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Uganda, Somalia, Ethiopia etc.
- PAM has failed to end the military coups and assassinations on the African continent i.e. President Tolbert of Liberia was overthrown by Samuel Doe in 1980 with bloodshed, Laurent Kabila was killed, Gadaffi, were killed and this was a failure of the movement.
- It failed to stop cultural erosion. The western culture is still preferred and Africans were seriously copying the western culture through the wave of globalization and promoting cultural alienation. PAM has done nothing to stop the ugly Scenario of the dress code including nudity which oppose African culture.
- It failed to eradicate neo-colonialism and all its forms like foreign aid, technological transfer and education. This has made African countries to associate with their colonial masters and the western world in general hence losing their direct independence as colonialism came back through the back door.
- It has failed to eradicate poverty, ignorance and diseases in Africa. Africa is regarded as one of the poorest continents in the world where people die of treatable diseases due to mass illiteracy. The movement has therefore failed to improve the welfare of the people on the continent.
- It has failed to create a continental language. The African continent up to date lacks a common language and they speak English for the Anglo-phone states, French and Kiswahili was proposed to be a continental language though it is restricted in Africa and spoken by a small % of Africans.
- It has failed to stop human rights abuse in African. it is on record that Africa has a worst record of human rights abuse and violation due to existence of dictators in government who kept on killing, beating and bundling opposition leaders upon rest.
- It has failed to ensure infrastructural development on African continent. Many of the African states have poor social economic infrastructures especially in the transport

system. This has affected the mechanism of development in the areas of agriculture and industrialization hence making Africans to fail to realize the MDGS.

ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1954-1962)

Qn

1. Account for the war of independence in Algeria
2. To what extent was France responsible for the Algerian war of liberation between 1954-1962?
3. Account for the delayed independence of Algeria
4. Examine the role played by National Liberation Front (F.L.N) towards the independence of Algeria

5. Examine the consequences of the 1954-1962 Algerian Revolution

CAUSES

Algeria is found in the Maghreb region dominated largely by Arabs and Kabylie speakers. It was colonized by France in 1830. In November 1954, a liberation war led by Ahmed Ben Bella, Belkacem Krim, Ferhat Abbas, Messali Hadj under the FLN umbrella started war against the French colonial rule and raged on until 1962.

1. Desire for independence caused the Algerian war of liberation. The Algerians were under the French from 1830 – 1962 (132 years) and were therefore tied of foreign, oppressive and exploitative rule.

2. The rise of Algeria Nationalists e.g. Ferhat Abbas, Messali, Hadji, Houri Boumedienne, Ben Bella etc led to the independence struggle. These formed friends of the Manifesto of liberty which organized the setif demonstration of 1945. Ben Bella and other young radicals formed organization secrete (0.S) to fight against the French also formed F.L.N which was used to fight the French from 1954.

3. The failure of constitutional means of struggle led to the war of independence in Algeria e.g. on 10th February 1943, Ferhat Abbas and 55 other Muslims signed the manifesto of Algerian people calling for an Algerian constitution, but the French remained adamant

and instead Abbas was arrested and imprisoned for inciting people. This provoked public anger resulting into liberation struggle.

4. The people of Algeria wanted their liberty and freedom observed. The French were oppressive to the extent that freedom was a rare commodity. There was no freedom of press, expression, assembly and anybody who tried to assert his freedom was dumped in prison. Therefore Algerians emerged on the war stage to claim their rights and liberties.

5. Influence of cold war politics caused the Algerian war of independence. The communist bloc fully supported the Algerian war of independence providing military logistics, economic assistance, moral backing and financial aid to F.L.N to dispose off the capitalist France.

6. Impact of World War II caused the war of independence in Algeria. It equipped Algerians with military tactics, skills and it was an eye opener against colonialism e.g. Ben Bella a leading nationalists in Algeria participated in world war II on the side of France and acquired military experience that he used to wage a war against France in Algeria.
7. Declaration of Algeria as an overseas province of France caused the war of independence. In 1951, France declared Algeria as her metropolitan/overseas province despite geographical differences. This meant that whatever happens, Algeria would never be independent because it was part and parcel of France. This was unacceptable to the Algerians they preferred to be treated as a colony which would have a right to demand for their autonomy.

8. Impact of the VE day celebrations of 1945 resulted into the independence struggle in Algeria. On 8th May 1945, Algerians were celebrating their victory in Europe and used the celebrations to demand for Algeria‘s independence, they moved with banners chanting, “Long live free Algeria down with French colonialism.. This did not please the French, they resorted to indiscriminate killing of Algerians, they killed between 18,000 – 30,000 demonstrators.

9. The formation of radical political parties e.g. National Liberation Front (F.L.N) in 1954 caused the war. Radical nationalists in Algeria grouped themselves under F.L.N, mobilized and politicized the masses against the French, declared war in 1954 and sustained it up to 1962 with the view of redeeming Algeria.

10. The influence of the American troops in morocco inspired the war of independence in Algeria. The Americans in Morocco convinced the conservative sultan to demand for Morocco's independence from the French and cause viable changes in the country, this inspired the Algerian to demand for similar changes against the French in Algeria [decolonization / twin independence of Morocco and Tunisia in 1956].

11. Success of the 1952 Egyptian revolution caused the independence struggle in Algeria. Egypt under Nasser was against foreign colonial rule. She funded the activities of Algerian nationalist against the French colonial rule. Algerian nationalists were given asylum in Cairo, gave military training, arms, etc in order to root out colonial rule from Algeria.

12. Influence of the Vietnamese war of independence against the French caused the war of independence in Algeria. The Vietnamese began the independence struggle in 1946 -1954 with the Vietcong under the Chiminh and defeated the French at the famous battle of Dien Bien Phur therefore Ben Bella witnessed their defeat in the Vietnamese war and concluded that the Algerian would defeat the French in the Algerian desert hence forming FLN in 1954 Cairo to dislodge the French.

13. Influx of white settlers into Algeria caused the war of independence. France encouraged poor and elderly whites from Malta, Spain, Corsica to settle in Algeria and put pressure on Algerian resources, by 1954 there were over 1 million white settlers. They enjoyed urban life employment, took African land, etc which did not please the Algerian Nationalists.

14. The independence of Syria and Lebanon from French imperialism inspired the Algerians to fight for their own independence. They reasoned that if their fellow Arab countries could get independence, they why not the Arab Algerians hence the war being inevitable.

15. The imposition of the French culture onto the Algerians caused the liberation war. The French imposed the French language onto the Algerians and undermined Arabic, they required the Algerians to dress, speak and behave just like the French did through the policy of assimilation. This was resented by the Algerians hence the war of independence.
16. Religious differences between the Arab Muslims and the catholic French colonialists caused the liberation war in Algeria. The French forced Algerians to convert to the catholic faith and abandon Islamic practices. The quaran was replaced by the Bible, Mosques were turned into churches and Islamic names were substituted with Christian names. The Arab Muslims in Algeria hated being ruled by "infidels"- catholic and were annoyed by the French. This compelled the Algerians to stage the war of independence.

17. Racial discrimination against the Algerians caused the liberation war. The French practiced discriminatory measures in employment and promotion, favouring majority the white settlers e.g. Ferhat Abbas which rekindled the opposition to French colonialism, got discontented with the discrimination he experienced in the promotion in the French army. Besides the Arabs were pushed to the country side and urban life was monopolized by the white race.

18. Over taxation of the Algerian resulted into the war of independence in Algeria. In order to sustain the ever growing white population, heavy ad multiple taxes were imposed on Algerian natives, the method of tax collection, simply dehumanized the tax payers. It often involved public flogging of suspected tax defaulters those who failed to pay were often dumped in jail. The heavy taxes worsened poverty among the local people thus misery was a common feature among the natives.

19. Forced labor/exploitation of peasants caused the Algerian war of independence. The colonialists subjected Africans to forced labor, Africans worked without pay on public projects, they were harshly supervised, many times the Africans fainted/suffocated in the process of working on private and public projects of colonialists, this paved way for the war of independence.

20. Land alienation caused the war of independence in Algeria. From 1830 when the French occupied Algeria, there was an influx of poor whites into Algeria. The white settlers monopolized the agricultural land and mineral resources especially in the Constantine valley. All land with water was taken over by the white settlers living Africans in dry and unproductive areas. This created a war mood in Algeria.

- Under representation of Algerians in the national assembly
- Influence of the writings of Fanon Frantz eg the"Black skin ,white masks", 'The dying colonialism' ,he was a medical Dr by qualification and criticized the French system.

EFFECTS OF THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

POSITIVE

1. Stepped up Algerian Nationalism. The Algerians were able to come together and rescue their country from foreign hegemony/domination
2. Led to the Algerian independence in 1962. This ended the French colonial rule that had lasted for 132 years and Ben Bella became the 1st president
3. Ushered in agrarian reforms in Algeria. After the French settlers had vacated, many people gained access to land and increased agricultural production.
4. It had to the second coming of Charles de Gaulle to power in France in 1958. De Gaulle was able to overthrow the 4th Republic of Radamier who had failed to settle the Algerian question.
5. Popularized the F.L.N internationally. It received support from the communist bloc, it was recognized by the UN, Egypt greatly backed F.L.N
6. Forced France to grant independence to Tunisia and Morocco in 1956 and all the French colonies south of the sahara.
7. Promoted unity in Algeria. This unity was mainly enhanced by the radio which mobilized the people to come together and resist the common enemy. The Algerians used the war period to heal old wounds of enmity. The Arab and Kabylie speakers were able to reconcile [voice of Algeria]

8. Resulted into the revival of Algerian culture. Arabic speaking was recognized, Islam was once again a dignified religion, all Arabic practices and Islamic practices were given due regard
9. Compelled Britain and Belgium to speed up the decolonization of their territories in Africa e.g. Ghana, Nigeria, Congo for fear of a possible war.
10. Resulted into the introduction of democracy in Algeria. From 1962 when Ben Bella was elected the 1st African president, universal adult suffrage came into effect.
11. It increased women participation in politics. The women worked as war combatants, spies, recruitment agents, smugglers of war weapons, after the war the women gained significance in the civil service, army and politics.
12. Led to the adoption of socialism in Algeria. This was partly because Algeria received a lot of support from the socialist countries during the independence struggle. She was able to get economic, political and social aid to rehabilitate the economy e.g. from U.S.S.R, China etc.
13. Algeria assumed an active part of Pan Africanism and labored so much to help African countries that were still under colonial rule e.g. western Sahara, Guinea Conakry
14. Led to industrialization in Algeria through increased petroleum mining using Cuban resources, products like electrical appliances and this improved the standard of living
15. Led to the formation of the Maghreb Union i.e. Unity of Arab African countries in North Africa
16. Led to release of political prisoners [Ben bella Ferhat Abbas among others]
17. Led to formation of cooperative societies.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS

- Led to the death of both soldiers and civilians. Nearly 1 million Algerians mainly of the Islamic faith perished in the war.
- Led to massive destruction of properties especially in 1958 when the French used their planes to destroy villages,[earth scorched policy of being non-selective]
- Algerians didn't defeat the French and thus lost political prestige
- Led to displacement of people thus causing refugees crisis (2) million were displaced from their villages, (1) million colons (white settlers were uprooted from Algeria.

- Led to creation of concentration camps where Africans were congested for effective monitoring by the French
- Algeria remained dependent on France for economic survival, she sought aid from France to rehabilitate the economy.

Famine and disease became wide spread during the war because the French adopted the earth scorched policy, destroying productive activities.

- It ushered in the dictatorship of Ben Bella. This invited the military to overthrow him in a coup in 1965 led by Houri Bourmedienne.
- Led to the Suez Canal crisis of 1956 in Egypt. This was because Nasser funded the liberation struggle in Algeria thus antagonizing the French.
- Led to massive economic crisis in France, the economy experienced a slump forcing the army officers to ally with Charles de Gaulle to overthrow the 4^{th} Republic (Radamier) in 1958.
- Led to rise of Islamic fundamentalism, terrorist groups emerged, resulting into a civil war in Algeria, causing instability in the Middle East, supporting PLO terrorist attacks on Israel and turned the Middle East into a blood stained region as Jews and Palestinians continued to kill one another.

REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE ALGERIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

- Role played by the National Liberation Front (F.L.N), it was formed in 1954 by Ahmed Ben Bella while in exile in Cairo and declared war against the French colonial rule and the roles include the following;
- It groomed leaders who fought and sustained the war against the French e.g. Houri Bourmedienne, Bout Afrika, Chadri etc.
- It tried to pursue peaceful means of struggle with the French for Algeria's independence e.g. Dialogues, demonstrations, petitions non-cooperation
- Resorted to armed struggle against French colonial rule in 1954 and sustained the war up to 1962. This weakened the French Imperial will.
- It sought for support and recognition from the communist bloc i.e. from U.S.S.R providing military assistance, diplomatic support, moral courage.

- F.L.N called for the release of political prisoners e.g. Ben Bella to further their nationalistic agenda
- F.L.N sought support and recognition of United Nations indeed the U.N acknowledged F.L.Ns contribution and condemned the French subversions in Algeria
- F.L.N involved women in the struggle for independence, the women were used as spies, recruitment officers, active combatants, provided food and cover to the freedom fighters.
- F.L.N established on exile based government known as GPRA in Cairo. This helped to groom more leaders and coordinated the activities of freedom fighters in Algeria [Algerian Revolutionary Peoples Government].
- F.L.N established external bases in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt such bases were used for training, recollection and based in such areas to attack the French colonial government.
- F.L.N openly criticized and exposed the evils of the French colonial rule e.g. killing of innocent people, detention without trial, over taxation, etc making the public and the international community to react.
- F.L.N established political and economic, reforms in all liberated areas e.g. grass root democracy, agricultural reforms, rule of law, etc which made Algerians value the cause for independence
- It established a propaganda base to propagate anti-colonial messages i.e. set up free voice of Algeria which mobilized and sensitized the public of resist French colonial rule.
- F.L.N forged unity among Algerians i.e. the Arabic speakers and the Kabylie speakers, the whole country was bound together to resist a common enemy for the sake of Algerians independence.
- In 1962, the French granted Algerian independence following the talks and a referendum which F.L.N represented the Algerians
- The contribution of Algerian Nationalists led to the end of French colonial rule. For example Ben Bella, Houri Bourmedienne, Belkacem Krim etc. they fought the French, involved in Dialogue, participated in the 1962 referendum, recruited freedom fighters, solicited for external support, called for unity during the struggle for independence, formed a radio for spread of propaganda and accepted instruments of power from the French in 1962.

- The strategic location of Algeria led to the success of the independence struggle. Being located in the desert with extreme conditions of heat and lack of water, it proved hard for the French forces to finish off the freedom fighters. The African were used to fighting in such harsh conditions and thus were able to win the French forces in most battles.
- The rise of power of Charles de Gaulle in France in 1958 blessed the independence struggle in Algeria. De Gaulle was not ready to continue with war against Africans, initiated dialogue with F.L.N & organized a referendum which F.L.N swept with 99.7% in favor of independence.
- Support from the communist bloc favored the independence of Algeria. It provided financial and military aid to F.L.N extended moral support to freedom fighters which inspired them to fight with vigor for independence.
- Support given to Algerians by the Arab league/Arab states led to the success of the independence struggle. These countries used Tunisia to channel financial and military aid to F.L.N.
- Anti –war mood in France led to the success of the independence struggle in Algeria. The French youth who supported De Gaulle's resolves to grant independence to Algeria later turned to demonstrations in Roven, Toulon and Vareness .They were supported by the of veterans the Vietnamese war of independence and they were not ready to continue fighting over seas wars.
- Tunisia's independence in 1956 favored the liberation of Algeria .The Algerian freedom fighters grouped in safe heavens, provided by the Tunisians and always returned to attack. Tunisia also provided training grounds to the F.L.N freedom fighters.
- The role played by the international community led to the success of the independence struggle by Algeria. After the French Bombardment of Sakhet, Sidi Youssef in 1958, America, exerted strong diplomatic pressure on France to respect the demands of Algerians. In response France began negotiations with F.L.N which resulted into Algerians independence on 5th July 1962.
- The role played by the General Union of Algerian workers led the success of the independence struggle. It organized support for F.L.N in Algiers among workers, organized demonstrations and strikes which helped to depopularise the French rule and added weight to the F.L.N.

- The support given by Egypt under Nasser led to the success of the Algerian independence struggle. Nasser surrendered Radio Cairo to the service of F.L.N freedom fighters to convey Nationalistic messages, sent large consignments of military equipments to F.L.N through Tunisia.
- The role played by the women led to the success of independence struggle in Algeria. The women became F.L.N members, gathered intelligence and acted as liaisons. They smuggled revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards, bombs and millions of Francs to buy medicine and supplies for the guerillas.
- The resort to armed struggle/violence led to the success of the war of liberation in Algeria. In 1954, the Algerians resorted to armed struggle having realized that peaceful methods had failed. The war option broke the back of the French colonial rule thus the independence of Algeria.
- The counter revolutionary warfare of the French made the independence struggle a success. The French resorted to mass arrests of suspects, destruction of villages in collective punishments, brutal interrogation. This made the masses determined and rallied behind F.L.N to fight and defeat the French.
- Popular support given to the independence struggle led to the success of the Algerian liberation war. The public fully supported the struggle and by 1962, FLN forces numbered 200,000 troops.
- Role played by Nkrumah against the French stabbed colonial rule in the back. Nkrumah strongly opposed the French nuclear tests that were being carried out at Reganne in Algeria. When the French continued with their nuclear tests, he froze French economic assets in Ghana until they agreed to negotiate for independence. He sent off the French Ambassador from Accra and recalled the Ghanaian Ambassador in Paris. This affected France economically and internationally tarnish her image[Islamic factor, writers like Frantz Fanon, strong determination of Algerians]

THE 1965 ALGERIAN REVOLUTION|COUP

Qns

1. Account for the 1965 Military Coup in Algeria
2. Examine the causes and effects of 1965 military takeover of Algeria

3. To what extent was Ben Bella responsible for his own overthrow in 1965?
4. How far were economic factors responsible for 1965 Algerian revolution?

In 1965, the government of Ahmed Ben Bella was overthrown by Houri Bourmedienne in a military coup. This was due to;

- Ben Bella became a dictator and could not be to related any more. He hated all positive criticism directed towards his government. He became final in all state decisions, the opposition was steadily suppressed and voices of the majority were shunned. This caused the overthrow of Ben Bella.
- Transformation of Algeria into a one party system caused the over throw of Ben Bella. He only allowed FLN political space; emerging political parties were suppressed in their infancy.
- Failure to fulfill promises made at mass rallies caused the downfall of Ben Bella. He became a great speaker with brilliant promises and fulfilled none of them e.g. promised rapid development, employment, land redistribution etc but 1965 nothing had come to fulfillment 1965.
- Insufficiency of social-economic facilities especially in Algiers caused the coup. Power supply, water etc became very scarce and life for the average Algerian proved hard.
- Low levels of education and experience of state workers caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. He was accused for failing to rapidly improve education facilities and taking Algerians for further training to fight inefficiency in the economy.
- Unemployment which led to the brain drain led to the overthrow of Ben Bella, 70,000 elites moved out of Algeria to seek for employment especially France leaving behind a man power crisis, the economy was ran down.
- High levels of poverty among the Algerian peasantry caused the downfall of Ben Bella. The Algerian economy was characterized by inefficiency despite of increased productivity. This resulted into low prices for people's produce making poverty room large among the peasant
- [lack of economic progress despite the increased prices of oil , the proceeds were plundered by the ministers and the president].

- Divisions in the army caused the downfall of Ben Bella. Ben Bella had a proposal to form a people's militia and ran down the national army. This did not please the army officers who had just liberated the country from French colonial rule.
- Personal rivalry between Ben Bella and Bourmedienne caused the military coup of 1965. Ben Bella had spent a lot of time in prison during the liberation struggle and only released in 1962 to become a leader. Therefore, Bourmedienne did not appreciate Ben Bella as a national leader. Ben Bella was planning to reshuffle Bourmedienne as the army commander.
- Break down of the economy caused trouble for Ben Bella. As workers took over factories and shared profits after paying a contribution for the state, they mismanaged economic affairs of the country. Production sectors were paralyzed.
- Failure of Ben Bella's socialist reforms led to the overthrown of his government e.g. he nationalized major means of production e.g. industries, banks, large private enterprises etc and in the event antagonised capital owners. These teamed up with army officers to oust the government of Ben Bella.
- Corruption and inefficiency in the government of Ben Bella caused his overthrow. Ben Bella failed to control misuse of public funds by his ministers, permanent secretaries and army officers and accumulated wealth within a short time.
- The civil war that broke out in the Kabylie region caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. Many people who had fought in the liberation war remained with guns and kept on killing, robbing, looting and terrorizing the capital city and the country side. This was blamed on Ben Bella causing his downfall.
- Power lust by colonel Houri Bourmedienne resulted into the overthrow of Bella. Bourmedienne had played a central role in the liberation war against the French and therefore he wanted to assume the supreme office.
- Ben Bella abused the press/censorship of the press, only wanted the mass media to report positively about his government. Press freedom was greatly limited to the disappointment of liberal army officers.
- Influence of successful coups caused the overthrow of Ben Bella. Successful coups such as 1963 coup in Togo, 1965 in Congo, 1952 coup in Egypt inspired coup plotters in Algeria to topple Ben Bella.

- Rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria created enmity for Ben Bella, these
- preached the teachings of islam where a leader must be accountable to the subjects.

EFFECTS

- Led to restoration of collective leadership in Algeria
- An Economic restoration program was launched in 1968 (3 years industrial plan) which resulted into development of several industries.
- There was nationalization of foreign firms; they became government owned on behalf of the public.
- Agrarian revolution was launched in 1971, enabling Algerians to access land for production
- There was expansion of free education, health services and other social amenities to improve the welfare of Algerians.
- Algeria supported Non alignment movement and thus tried to peruse a neutral policy in international politics.
- Promoted democracy in 1965 – 68 by electing leaders from the grassroots
- Algeria turned to the socialist bloc, receiving a lot of support from socialist countries like USSR ,China, Cuba among others.
- Oil revenue increased resulting from proper use of the oil reserve
- Algeria trained local manpower to man industries and by Algeria's industrial sector was experiencing a boom.
- Algeria started supporting liberation movements e.g. POLISARIO in Western Sahara.
- Tried to fight desertification through afforestation programs
- Tried to fight corruption by bringing corrupt officials to book
- Algeria became an active member of the Maghreb Union ie a union of Tunisia, Morocco ,Libya ie majorly Arab countries in North Africa.

NEGATIVE

Failed to maintain good relationship with neighbors e.g. Morocco

Algeria funded terrorist groups that threatened peace in the magreb region

Bourmedienne became a dictator and suppressed the opposition.

NATIONALISM IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA (THE ROUGH ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE AND THE LIBERATION WARS)

Portugal was the earliest colonial master in Africa and it was the last to vacate the continent.

The Portuguese colonies included;

- Mozambique
- Angola
- Guinea Bissau
- Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe

NB: The Portuguese used very autocratic, coercive and regressive methods to administer the colonies and this greatly delayed the independence of the Africans.

The Africans therefore resorted to armed struggle to claim their rapid independence.

FACTORS THAT DELAYED INDEPENDENCE IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

1. The Portuguese regarded their colonies as overseas territories leading to delayed independence. The Portuguese leader Don Salazar smuggled this issue into the Portuguese constitution and it became illegal and difficult to grant independence without amending the constitution.

2. The existence of a tight and strong spy network in the colonies delayed independence. Portugal had a repressive police called PIDE that crashed African struggles. The PIDE police arrested, detained and assassinated African leaders. It is on record that Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique was assassinated in 1968 and Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau in 1973. This affected Africans' clear road to independence.

3. The military superiority of the Portuguese contributed to the delayed independence of Portuguese Africa. Portugal was very powerful militarily; the army was well trained and equipped compared to the Africans.

4. Portugal had very few colonies in Africa and this gave it a strong advantage against Africans. Unlike other colonial masters like Britain and France that had many colonies and met resistances, Portugal had very few and had the capability to silence riots, not willing to surrender hence delaying African independence.

5. The support received by Portugal from the North Atlantic Treaty organization (NATO) hindered the independence of Portuguese colonies. The NATO forces came to check the spread of communism that gave support to the liberation movements eg MPLA in Angola, FRELIMO in Mozambique and PAIGC in Guinea Bissau. The military and financial support of NATO weakened the Africans.

6. Limited exposure to nationalistic ideas among the Africans delayed independence struggles. It is true that Africans were denied external contacts and interactions. Banning of liberal press reports and literature were all a stumbling block. The Portuguese accessed African mails and telegrams hence delaying independence.

7. Lack of constitutional avenues to attain independence hindered early decolonization. Africans were denied participation in political affairs, were not represented in the parliament and all political activism was restricted.

8. The conservative rule of Dr. Don Salazar (1928 – 68) delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies. Don Salazar was very repressive and not prepared to grant independence. He was opposed to liberal ideas and he remarked thus;

" I cannot bend the winds of change"
This broke the hopes of the Africans not to get early independence.

9. The ruthless policies of the Portuguese administrators also delayed the independence of the Portuguese colonies suppressed the African programs, strikes, about 49 dock workers were shot dead in Mozambique, 50 in Guinea Bissau and 200 in Angola. Leaders like Augustinho Neto were arrested and publicly flogged hence discouraging Africans activities.

10. The establishment of rehabilitation centres (reserve camp). These camps housed suspects who were tortured and killed. Examples of these camps were in Zambezi valley, fortified villages were created and African homes were destroyed , the scotched earth policy was applied which denied African freedom.

11. The increased deployment of Portuguese troops to counter African resistances delayed independence. The large number of troops that amounted to 200,000 soldiers by 1970 which weakened Africa hopes for early independence.

12. The economic advantage of African colonies to Portugal delayed independence. The independence of Africans could weaken the economy of Portugal. The existence of

Portugal in Africa had guaranteed her middle – manship position in Europe and could not therefore let the colonies get independence.

13. The economic dwarfness of Portugal delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies. Portugal was very poor and could not sustain its economy without the financial support of African territories. This therefore delayed independence.

14. The high literacy rate among the Africans delayed the independence. It should be noted that the Portuguese deliberately offered inferior education and the education did not offer technical skills to Africans and intellectual abilities. This therefore limited the scope of nationalistic Movements hence delaying independence.

15. The divide and rule policy of the Portuguese affected nationalistic sentiments among Africans. National unity of purpose was destroyed by the Portuguese of the Ovimbundu against the Bakongo in Angola, the Fula and the Balante in Guinea Bissau and the Makua, Nyanja against the Makonde in Mozambique. This retarded early independence struggles.

16. Existence of ethnic nationalism (micro – nationalism) affected the independence of Portuguese colonies. The Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu in Angola were not united. The Fula and Balante in Guinea Bissau never co-operated and the Nyanja, Makua and Makonde in Mozambique were also grumbling. The failure to diffuse ethnicity delayed the independence of Portuguese colonies.

17. The aparthy that existed among Africans delayed independence. Some Africans were not interested in the cause for independence and could not join the liberation struggles. Others used peaceful means to demand for independence yet colonial masters understood the language of violence.

18. Absence of capable and charismatic leaders in the initial stages of liberation delayed independence. The fierce leadership of Don Salazar discouraged people to offer leadership in the infant stage, the likes of Eduardo Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral and Agustinho Neto emerged in the 1950s to catalyse the effective and meaningful struggles.

19. Lack of organized internal bases for the liberation movements delayed independence. Most of the liberation movements like FRELIMO operated in Tanzania and Malawi, MPLA operated in Congo Zaire and Congo Brazzaville, PAIGC operated in French Guinea. This made them to have slim impact on the Portuguese stay in Africa.

20. The weaknesses of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) affected nationalism in Portuguese Africa. OAU had established a Liberation Committee based in Tanzania, but it made more condemnation and its contribution remained theoretical due to limited funds and military incapacitations.

21. The double standards of the United Nations Organization (UNO) frustrated the efforts of Africans in Portuguese colonies. The UN verbally reacted and imposed weak sanctions on the Portuguese. Some members of the UN also doubled as members of NATO that gave support to the capitalist Don Salazar. This left the Africans more disappointed.

22. The formation of the "Triumvirate Alliance" strengthened the Portuguese administration in Africa. This was a repressive movement or a gang of the three dictators i.e. Don Salazar of Portugal, Verwoerd of South Africa and Ian Smith of the UDI of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). These pledged effective assistance to each other in case of war and resistance and suppressed Africans.

23. The ideological differences of the African leaders affected early independence. A case in point was Simango in Mozambique who disagreed with Mondlane and joined the Portuguese leading to the assassination of 1968, MPLA against UNITA of the capitalists. All these left Africans stumbling.

24. The negative attitude of the Catholic Church hindered early independence. The Catholic Church condemned the African liberation movements as terrorist clubs, they used their spiritual platform to scare away 1000s of Africans contributing to the delayed independence.

Reference Questions:

1. Account for the delayed independence of Guinea Bissau / Mozambique / Angola.
2. Examine the challenges / problems faced by the nationalist in Portuguese Africa.
3. Discuss/Explain the problems faced by the PAIGC/FRELIMO/MPLA in the struggle against the Portuguese rule.
4. To what extent did the Portuguese colonial policies delay in the independence in Africa?

CAUSES OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

The Africans in the Portuguese colonies tried to use peaceful means in the initial stages, however independence was far from reach and they resorted to armed struggle against the Portuguese.

- The people of Angola formed MPLA in 1956, launched war against the Portuguese in 1961 – 1975 led by Agustinho Neto.
- The nationalists in Guinea Bissau formed PAIGC in 1954 by Amilcar Cabral. The war began in 1963 – 1974.

- The people in Mozambique formed FRELIMO in 1962 under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane and Simango. The war began in 1964 – 1975.

a) The Portuguese regarded the colonies as overseas provinces which sparked off the wars. This idea was declared in the 1951 Constitution of Portugal and this negated African feelings. The Africans applied violence to break the colonial bondage.

b) The brutality of the Portuguese led to the outbreak of the liberation wars. The Portuguese killed over 200,000 Angolans, others were terribly wounded and public flogging e.g. Agustinho Neto, dock workers were killed in Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and others killed in strikes. All these sparked off armed struggle for independence.

c) Lack of constitutional means to achieve independence forced Africans to declare war on the Portuguese. Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau were denied political participation in parliamentary structures. This compelled Africans to resort to the liberation war.

d) The dictatorial policies of the Portuguese led to the wars of independence. The Portuguese suppressed the freedoms of people in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, the press was censored and political parties were banned. These undemocratic activities pushed the Africans to resort to violent approaches.

e) The tight spy network exposed by the Portuguese police (PIDE) contributed to the war. The PIDE carried out in human acts like un warranted arrests and public humiliation such as Neto flogged. The police was authorized to kill suspects. The acts of the PIDE increased African anti-colonial sentiments leading to the war.

f) Increased deployment of the Portuguese troops in Africa laid a foundation for the war. The number of soldiers by 1960 was increased in Angola i.e. 60,000 and 70,000 in Mozambique respectively. This made Africans also to reciprocate by forming strong armies to engage the Portuguese.

g) The establishment of concentration camps by the Portuguese occasioned the wars. These centers were set up to contain African resistances and to deny them access to foreign assistance. Africans were tortured and others assassinated in these centers hence raising concern leading to the wars.

h) The formation of the liberation movements by Africans in Portuguese Africa led to the armed struggles. PAIGC was formed in 1954 in Guinea Bissau, MPLA in 1956 in Angola and

FRELIMO in 1962 in Mozambique. These organized the masses, united the people and declared guerilla war against the Portuguese.

i) The desire for political independence occasioned the liberation wars. Africans developed great nationalistic sentiments that pushed them into the war. This was because of the long period of political denial hence making the war inevitable.

j) Influence of the Marxist Ideology (Socialism) in Portuguese Africa caused the wars. This ideology called for a classless society, was against imperialism and advocated for the use of militarism against foreign domination. The communist states therefore offered support to Africans to fight the Portuguese.

k) The influence of the independent neighboring states also contributed to the wars in Portuguese Africa. Countries like Congo Zaire, Congo Brazzaville, Guinea Conakry, Senegal, Tanzania and Malawi inspired the Portuguese colonies to raise their morale for independence. The neighboring states provided the logistical support, ie, financial, military and external bases for the wars.

l) The role of the nationalistic leaders caused the wars. These included Augustine Neto of Angola, Amilcar Cabral in Guinea Bissau and Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique. These provided courageous and visionary leadership in the turbulent times hence making the wars inevitable.

m) Forced labour imposed on the Africans also caused the wars. Africans were made to offer labour on public works eg roads, plantations, without payment or meager pay. This was resented by Africans leading to the war.

n) The unfair and heavy taxation imposed on the Africans caused the liberation wars. The methods of taxation were very cruel and harsh. The defaulters were arrested and flogged in public hence sending Africans into a war mood.

o) High levels of looming poverty among the Africans caused the war. Africans became poverty stricken due to lack of employment, low prices of agricultural produce and low wages compared to the Portuguese workers. The impoverished Africans became disgruntled to open up war against the Portuguese.

p) Corruption of the Portuguese administrators also caused the liberation wars. The officials were too corrupt in the collection of taxes and the provision of social services , bribes were at the highest levels. This provoked militant nationalism in Portuguese Africa.

q) Lack of employment opportunities among the Africans contributed to the occurrence of the wars. All the existing jobs including driving, office clerks and messengers were a preserve of the White minority. Africans were meant to offer forced labour on the plantations with meager pay. This attracted resentment in all the Portuguese colonies leading to war.

r) The inferior education system provided by the Portuguese made the wars inevitable. The education system given to Africans were not technical and intellectual to compete with the Portuguese, Africans attended separate schools of missionaries established in rural areas. This laid a foundation for the liberation wars.

s) The racial arrogance of the Portuguese caused the liberation wars. This was packaged in the assimilation policy that forced Africans to take on their culture in totality. This policy produced a class of assimilados who accepted to drop African cultural values and were favored at the expense of the indignas (Africans who refused to change). This created a situation of a war mood.

t) The forced cash crop growing among Africans contributed to the liberation wars. The Portuguese forced Africans to grow crops such as cotton, coffee, and Tobacco even on the small gardens after big chucks of land had been grabbed. Africans were unable to grow food crops that led to famine and the prices for the crops grown were determined by the Portuguese. This caused discontent leading to war.

u) The presence of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in Portuguese Africa annoyed Africans to rebel. Note should be taken that Portugal was a member of NATO and allowed the countries of Britain, France, Belgium, among others set up military bases, invested in the area and also dump their goods which they charged expensively. This compelled Africans to launch war against the Portuguese colonial masters.

v) The land alienation policy by the Portuguese caused the Liberation wars. The Portuguese steadily grabbed land from Africans and established plantations. This left Africans landless and were sent to reserves and others remained squatters on the White estates. The wars were staged in order to regain the lost land in an armed struggle.

REFERENCE QUESTIONS

1. Account for the outbreak of the Liberation war in Guinea Bissau / Angola / Mozambique.
2. Discuss the factors for the armed resistance / militant nationalism in Portuguese colonies.
3. Why did the PAIGC / FRELIMO / MPLA declare war against the Portuguese rule in 1963/1964/1961 respectively?
4. “The Portuguese mal-administration was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Liberation wars”. Discuss.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA

These included the following;

1. The formation of Liberation movements against the Portuguese led to the independence of these countries. These movements included PAIGC set up in 1954, MPLA in 1956 and FRELIMO established in 1962. They resorted to use of military approach against the Portuguese leading to their eventual independence.

2. The effective military strategies adopted by the Liberation movements led to the success of Africans. The Liberation movements always attacked the Portuguese simultaneously in several places, they used surprise attacks and ambushes which weakened the Portuguese.

3. The Liberation Movements carried out mass mobilization and recruitment. Thousands of Africans joined the struggle, the massive recruitment strengthened the African struggles to outmatch Portuguese soldiers.

4. The role of women enlisted in the struggle led to the success of the Liberation movements. The Liberation movements recruited women in the military, others acted as nurses for the wounded soldiers, and gave espionage information (spies) during the wars.

5. The military gains scored by the Liberation Movements favored independence in Portuguese Africa. The Liberation movements of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA gained almost a third of their respective countries by the occurrence of the Lisbon coup of 1974. Such a situation weakened the Portuguese to grant independence.

6. The reforms instituted by the liberation movements in their respective territories enabled the success of the wars. The movements established liberated zones where the masses were involved in decision making and grass root leadership. The movements established elementary schools to provide free education and health centres were set up which won the support of the masses.

7. The continuous repressive methods of the Portuguese hardened the Africans and raised the impetus for independence. Concentration camps were set up to bundle Africans, African homes and gardens were destroyed, nationalists were tortured and killed. All these, undermined the popularity of the Portuguese.

8. The formation of the CONCP alliance by the liberation movements strengthened the African struggles. This was a composition of MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO. A combination of the liberation movements co-operated and shared ideas to weaken the Portuguese rule in Africa.

9. The simultaneous occurrence of liberation wars contributed to the success of African struggles. The Angolan war began in 1961, the war in Guinea Bissau began in 1963 and the war in Mozambique started in 1964. These wars drained Portugal financially and militarily leading to the success of the African struggles.

10. The withdrawal of NATO forces from the Portuguese colonies weakened the colonial administration. Portugal could no longer get financial and military assistance which had kept her strong against Africans. Hence making Africans succeed.

11. The Lisbon Coup of 1974 was a death blow to the Portuguese leadership in Africa. The coup led to the overthrow of a dictatorial government in Portugal and led to the emergence of a liberal leader called Antonio de Spinola who granted independence to the colonies, ie Guinea Bissau in 1974, Angola and Mozambique in 1975 respectively.
12. The collapse of the triumvirate alliance was an advantage to the Africans. This was a gang of three dictators to include Don Salazar of Portugal, Verwoerd of South Africa and the UDI government of Ian Smith of Southern Rhodesia. These had agreed to suppress all African struggles. However, the death of some founder members made it incapable to continuously block African struggles.

13. The independence of the neighboring states influenced the success of the liberation wars. These included Guinea Conakry that assisted PAIGC of Guinea Bissau, Congo Brazzaville and Congo Zaire supported MPLA of Angola while Tanzania and Zambia supported FRELIMO leading to the success of liberation movements.

14. The consolidated unity exhibited by the African liberation fighters contributed to the success of the wars. The Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau diffused ethnic rivalries and worked towards national unity. This weakened the Portuguese stay in Africa leading to independence.

15. The favorable geographical settings were an advantage to the Africans in Portuguese Africa. Guinea Bissau was covered with mangrove forests ad thick Bamboo forests, Mozambique had a thick forest cover near Niassa and Ntete, Angola was advantaged with the coastline. All these, favored the movement of the Africans and were a disadvantage to the Portuguese.

16. The role of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) enabled the attainment of Portuguese in Africa. From the formation of OAU in 1963, it set up a liberation committee whose

pivotal role was to grant independence to the colonized African countries. The organization gave military and financial support to PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA and also put sanctions against Portugal to decolonize.

17. The contribution of United Nations Organization (UNO) led to the success of the liberation wars. The UNO used the Security Council to condemn colonialism in Africa, impose both economic and political sanctions against the Portuguese and also threatened to throw out Portugal from general assemblies for its failure to decolonize. This yielded positively for the African.

18. The support from the communist world enabled the success of African independence in Portuguese Africa. The communist support came from China, USSR and Cuba. These countries gave military, logistical and financial advice which weakened the Portuguese in Africa.

19. The able and charismatic leadership rendered by the nationalists. These included Eduardo Mondlane, Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau and Agustinho Neto of Angola. These leaders secured both internal and external support to sustain the wars, united people and accepted the instruments of power at independence.

THE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA (1961 – 1974)

Reference Questions

1. "The MPLA was primarily responsible for the de – colonization of Angola" Discuss.
2. Examine contribution of Agustinho Neto in the liberation struggle of Angola.
3. Account for the success of the liberation war in Angola

MPLA was formed in 1956 by Illidio Tom Machedo as the first president and later Agustinho Neto who took over in 1958. Other liberation movements in Angola included National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA).

It should be noted that MPLA played a significant role in the liberation of Angola in the following ways.

- The movement provided the necessary leadership against the Portuguese rule in Angola. Agustinho Neto at the top of leadership, was very courageous, had a clear vision leading to the independence of Angola.

- MPLA diffused the ethnicity in Angola. It united the Mbundu, Ovimbundu and Bakongo contributing to independence.

- The MPLA established external bases in neighboring countries of Congo Zaire, Congo Brazzaville, Zambia and Namibia. The movement therefore used these bases to launch attack against the Portuguese.

- The MPLA was able to unite and coordinate the political and military wings. This led to the commitment during the struggle for independence.

- MPLA appealed to the UNO for support. The UN reciprocated by giving financial and military support, imposed sanctions on the Portuguese leading to independence.

- The MPLA won the recognition of the OAU. The OAU gave financial and military support using its liberation committee to weaken the Portuguese rule.

- MPLA solicited assistance from the communist countries like China, USSR, and Cuba. These gave financial and military support, trained the liberation fighters leading to the success of the nationalists.

- MPLA co-operated with PAIGC and FRELIMO to form CONCP Alliance. This alliance, laid strategies against the Portuguese colonial masters.

- MPLA established liberated zones in Angola which led to reforms e.g. free education, health centres. This attracted the attention and support of the local people leading to independence.

- The MPLA recruited and trained Angolans in guerilla warfare. The recruits increased activities of sabotage against the Portuguese programs and strategies.

- The movements enrolled women in the struggle for independence. The women worked as nurses, cooks and spies to the freedom fighters. This encouraged the liberation fighters to succeed.

- The MPLA organized and launched successful guerilla warfare against the Portuguese by 1961. The movement scored military gains of the largest part of the country contributing to the success of the war.

- The MPLA sensitized the masses of Angola on the evils of the Portuguese administration and benefits of the independence leading to the success of the war.

- The MPLA received instruments of power from the Portuguese in 1975 under Agustinho Neto as chief.

- The MPLA negotiated with the new socialist government in Portugal under Antonio De Spinola. This yielded positive results leading to independence in 1975.

OTHER FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF ANGOLAN LIBERATION WAR

- The continuous repressive methods of the Portuguese hardened the Africans and increased their determination for independence.

- The simultaneous occurrence of liberation wars made it impossible for the Portuguese to contain the African desire for independence i.e. 1961 in Angola, 1963 in Guinea Bissau and 1964 in Mozambique.

- The Lisbon Coup of 1974 in Portugal accelerated African independence i.e. the emergency of liberal leader Antonio De Spinola granted independence.

- The collapse of the triumvirate alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia which had strengthened the Portuguese rule in Africa.

- The independence of neighboring countries like Tanzania and Zambia for Mozambique, Congo and Zambia for Angola, Senegal and Guinea Conakry for Guinea Bissau.

- The favorable geographical settings. Mozambique had a thick forest cover near the Niassa and Ntete with swamps while Angola had thick forests and swamps.

Reference Questions

1. Examine the role of Agustinho Neto in the struggle for Angolan independence
2. To what extent did Agustinho Neto contributed to the decolonization of Angola?

Preamble:

Agustinho Neto was born in 1922 to a Methodist Priest in Bengo, a small village in rural Angola.

He was a graduate of medicine in the University of Lisbon and joined the ranks of MPLA in 1958. Dr. Neto played a great role in the liberation of Angola in the following ways.

- Neto provided able and charismatic leadership during the liberation struggles. His character was composed of courage, vision and dedication hence winning the independence of Angola.

- Agustinho Neto wrote poems and articles about the suffering of the Angolans. This created awareness among the nationals.

- Neto led the Angolan delegation to Lisbon to present the Angolan grievances. This was intended to effect political reforms and independence.

- Agustinho organized demonstrations and strikes against the Portuguese imperialism. He was part of the Angola cotton worker strike in Malange.

- He represented and sought recognition from OAU. The OAU responded by giving moral, financial and military assistance to MPLA.

- He appealed to the UNO to intervene in the Angolan cause. The UNO General Assembly responded by imposing sanctions on Portugal using the Security Council.

- He diffused ethnicity and united the different tribes in Angola. These included the Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu for the national cause.

- He led the MPLA to establish the external guerilla bases in the neighboring countries e.g. Congo Zaire, Zambia and Congo Brazzaville.

- He solicited support from the communist countries like USSR, China and Cuba. This led to its getting of moral, financial and military equipment and package of training.

- He recruited and trained the Angolan masses in guerilla warfare tactics and this strengthened the liberation struggles

- He launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial rule under MPLA in 1961

- He recruited women in the military and political wings of the MPLA. These acted as Nurses, cooks and spies.

- He led MPLA to form CONCP alliance with PAIGC of Guinea Bissau and FRELIMO of Mozambique. This alliance was aimed at sharing strategies and logistics for the independence.

- He led the Angolan nationalists to a negotiation campaign with the socialist Lisbon government under Antonio De Spinola. This led to the independence on Nov, 1975.

❖ He received the instruments of power at independence in 1975 from the Portuguese. He established the first independent government of black majority.

SUMMARY OF THE PROBLEMS FACED BY THE ANGOLANS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Angola Liberation war began in 1961 led by Agustinho Neto of MPLA against the Portuguese colonial masters. The problems faced by the Angolans included;

- Military weaknesses of the Angolan nationalists contrary to the military might of the Portuguese.
- Micro-nationalism based on ethnicity e.g. the Bakongo,Mbundu and Ovimbundu

Economic backwardness of the Angolan masses.

- General illiteracy, ignorance and apathy of the Angolans.
- Power struggles among the Angolans e.g Daniel Chipenda against Agustinho Neto, Jonas Savimbi against Neto.
- The divide and rule tactics of the Portuguese ie the Ovimbundu against other tribes.
- Desire by the Portuguese to continue exploiting the Angola nationalists ie the natural resources like diamond, oil.
- The repressive policies of the PIDE police that tightly spied on the Africans and tortured them.
- The Portuguese exploitative polices of over taxation and forced labour,land grabbing.
- The brutal oppressive policies of the Portuguese ie public flogging of leaders eg Agustinho Neto in 1960.
- The racial discrimination of the Portuguese (Assimilation).This created a class of assimilados and indignas which hampered nationalistic struggles.
- The delayed independence of neighboring countries affected Angola eg Namibia, Zimbabwe.
- Double standards of the UNO.
- The existence of the Triumvirate alliance.
- The negative effects of cold war politics that made the NATO forces to swing in Angola.

- The use of non-violent methods of demanding independence by the Agolans in early stages eg demonstration and strikes.
- The absence of capable and charismatic leaders in the initial stages of the struggles.
- The negative impact of the Catholic Church that branded the nationalists as terrorists.
- The creation of rehabilitation centres (reserves) used by the Portuguese to torture Africans and use of scotched earth policy.
- The conservative leadership of Don Salazar who refused to bend the wings of change.
- The consolidated of the NATO forces that gave support to the Portuguese ie military, financial to weaken the communist orientation.
- Limited exposure of the nationalists to the outside world, liberal and press reports were censored, banned political activism.

THE LIBERATION WAR IN GUINEA (1963-1974)

(Role of the African independence party for Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC)

Reference Questions;

1. Asses the role of the PAIGC to the liberation struggle of Guinea Bissau.
2. To what extent did the PAIGC contribute to the collapse of Portuguese rule in Guinea Bissau?
3. Discuss the contribution of PAIGC to the liberation struggle in Guinea Bissau.

Preamble;

The PAIGC was a nationalist movement formed in 1954 by Amilcar Cabral.

The intension of the movement was to achieve independence for Guinea Bissau and the islands of Cape Verde.

The roles of PAIGC included the following;

- ✓ PAIGC appealed to the urban working class, traders and primary teachers. These were a pillar for leadership and financial backup.
- ✓ PAIGC recruited freedom fighters and trained them in guerilla warfare.

- ✓ The movement established external bases in Guinea Conakry and Senegal. This enabled careful attacks against the Portuguese.
- ✓ PAIGC launched a successful armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1963 that weakened the colonial bondage.
- ✓ PAIGC organized demonstrations and strikes against the Portuguese administration. This involved the 1959 Dockers strike.
- ✓ PAIGC mobilized the peasants to render support towards independence. The party opened up bases in Balante and Fula.
- ✓ Amilcar Cabral under PAIGC provided able leadership and later Luis Cabral in 1973 after assassination of Amilcar. This later led to independence.
- ✓ PAIGC solicited for support from the communist countries. These included USSR, China, and Cuba among others. Financial and military was got to weaken the Portuguese.
- ✓ The movement established internal liberated zones in Guinea Bissau. There were provision of grassroots democracy, free education and health centres hence increasing the popularity of independence.
- ✓ PAIGC recruited women in its ranks. These were informers (spies), cooks, nurses etc. This greatly contributed to the success of independence.
- ✓ PAIGC sent the youth wing abroad for further studies in military education. Majority went to the society union and Algeria which strengthened the struggle.
- ✓ PAIGC went into alliance with other liberation movements of MPLA and FRELIMO to form CONCP. This alliance was pivotal in sharing strategies.
- ✓ The movement diffused ethnicity and united the people in Guinea Bissau. The Balante and Fula were united for a national cause of independence.
- ✓ The party took part in the negotiations with the government of Antonio De-Spinola in Portugal. This yielded independence in 1974.
- ✓ PAIGC won the support of the organisation of African Unity (OAU).OAU used its liberation committee to give financial, military and imposed sanctions on Portugal.
- ✓ The party petitioned Portuguese government to the United Nations Security Council. The sanctions were imposed on the Portuguese which quickened independence.
- ✓ PAIGC accepted and received the instruments of power in September 1974 under Louis Cabral as president

THE ROLE OF AMILCAR CABRAL IN THE STRUGGLE OF GUINEA BISSAU

Reference Questions;

1. Assess the contribution of Amilcar Cabral to the decolonization of Guinea Bissau.
2. Explain the role of Amilcar Cabral in the struggle of independence in Guinea Bissau.

Preamble;

Amilcar Cabral was an agronomist and he was born in Cape Verde, studied and worked in Lisbon and later returned to offer leadership in Guinea Bissau. He contributed to the struggle in the following ways;

- ✓ Amilcar Cabral got involved in agricultural census with the colonial government. This exposed him to the problems of his people hence condemned the Portuguese.
- ✓ Amilcar mobilized the masses to form PAIGC that launched an armed struggle in 1963 against the Portuguese imperialists.
- ✓ Amilcar established an external base for PAIGC in Guinea Conakry to coordinate the activities of Africans under the support of Sekou Toure.
- ✓ Amilcar worked with the working class and petty traders to get financial and moral support to weaken the Portuguese policies.
- ✓ Amilcar solicited for support from the communist countries like USSR, China, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia. These responded financially and militarily to strengthen African cause for independence.
- ✓ Amilcar also sent members of PAIGC youth wing to USSR for further education. These returned with more exposed technical skills to further independence cause.
- ✓ Amilcar provided able, visionary, and charismatic leadership under PAIGC. He therefore, instilled a spirit of hard work in fighting for independence.
- ✓ Amilcar Cabral enlisted women in the struggle for self-rule. These cooked food for the fighters, served as nurses and acted as spies against the Portuguese.
- ✓ He also sought recognition from the O.A.U right from 1963. The O.A.U gave financial, moral, technical and military support. It imposed sanctions on the Portuguese.

- ✓ Amilcar appealed for support from the UNO that responded positively. The UNO used the Security Council to condemn Portugal, recognized PAIGC as a legitimate body for the independence cause.
- ✓ Amilcar set up internal liberated zones in Guinea Bissau where reforms were instituted eg schools, health centres and grass root democracy. These won the support of the Africans.
- ✓ He united the rival tribes in Guinea Bissau such as the Balante and Fula. This became vital to dislodge the minority Portuguese by 1974.
- ✓ Amilcar went into an alliance with other Liberation movements. These included MPLA, FRELIMO to form CONCP that backed up PAIGC. This was aimed at weakening the Triumvirate alliance.
- ✓ Amilcar coordinated the military wings of PAIGC up to 1973 when he was assassinated. The cause was later furthered by his cousin, Luis Cabral to 1974 at independence celebrations.

NOTE:

Other factors for the success of the Liberation war are the same in all the Portuguese colonies.

THE LIBERATION WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE (1964 – 1975).

The role of Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO)

Reference Questions

1. **Discuss the role of FRELIMO to the Liberation Struggle of Mozambique.**
2. **Assess the contribution of FRELIMO in the struggle of Mozambique independence.**

PREAMBLE

FRELIMO was formed by a group of disgruntled intellectuals and politicians in 1962 in Dar-es-salaam. It was led by Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane assisted by Simango.

The roles of FRELIMO included the following;

1. FRELIMO launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1964 and this contributed to eventual independence in 1975.

2. FRELIMO set up external bases in Tanzania at Bagamoyo. The freedom fighters were allowed to train hence attacking the Portuguese.

3. FRELIMO recruited freedom fighters massively, trained them in guerrilla warfare tactics.

4. FRELIMO sensitized and mobilized the nationals who responded by giving full support to the struggle.

5. FRELIMO managed to set up internal liberated zones in Niassa and Ntete. These were used to launch attacks on the Portuguese and had reforms established.

6. FRELIMO provided able and charismatic leadership under Mondlane that worked against the Portuguese colonial bondage.

7. FRELIMO won the support of the communist countries like China, Soviet Union etc. These gave training, financial and extended educational scholarships to freedom fighters.

8. FRELIMO weakened ethnicity in Mozambique. It united the tribes of Makua, Nyanja and the famous Makonde leading to success.

9. The party appealed for assistance and recognition from the United Nations (UNO). The UN responded by condemning Portugal and imposing sanctions.

10. FRELIMO sought for support from OAU that used its Liberations Committee to support the freedom fighters.

11. FRELIMO went into the alliance with MPLA and PAIGC to form CONCP.

12. FRELIMO scored military success against the Portuguese. This included the killing of Portuguese soldiers and destruction of planes at Mueda leading to success.

13. FRELIMO recruited women in Liberation struggles. These provided espionage and served as cooks and nurses.

14. The movement held discussions with the socialist government of Antonio of Portugal, hence securing independence on 25th June 1975.

15. FRELIMO under Samora Machel received the instruments of power from the Portuguese in 1975 and set up a black led government.

16. FRELIMO established a refugee camp across River Ruvuma and this helped to contain the suffering Africans.

Other factors for the success of independence included;

- The collapse of the Triumvirate alliance.
- The geographical set up of Mozambique favoured the guerrilla warfare.
- The withdrawal of NATO forces from Mozambique weakened the Portuguese.
- The role of Liberal Portuguese who advocated for democratic governance in Africa.
- Portuguese economic collapse made it unable to sustain wars.
- The simultaneous occurrence of Liberation wars, ie Mozambique 1964, Angola 1961, and Guinea Bissau 1963.
- The Portuguese exploitative policies hardened Africans to get determined for independence.
- The role of independent neighboring states eg Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi.
- The role of other liberation movements eg Revolutionary Committee of Mozambique (COREMO) and ZANU-PF.
- The Lisbon coup of 1974 that over threw dictators like Marcel Caetano and emergence of Antonio De Spinora.
- The role of Samora Machel and Joachim Chisano.

THE ROLE OF EDUARDO CHIVAMBO MONDLANE IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Reference Questions

1. **Assess the role of Eduardo Mondlane in the Liberation of Mozambique.**
2. **Explain the contribution of Eduardo Mondlane in the decolonization of Mozambique.**
3. **To what extent did Eduardo Mondlane contribute to the Liberation of Mozambique?**

Preamble

Eduardo Mondlane established FRELIMO in 1962 as a merger of different movements to include MANU, COREMO operating in exile.

The roles of Mondlane included;

- He formed FRELIMO in 1962 in exile in Dar-es-Salaam that helped Mozambique attain independence.
- Mondlane set up external bases in Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia and these launched attacks on the Portuguese.
- Internal bases were also established by Mondlane. These operated in Mueda where posts of military were installed by the Africans.
- Mondlane gave the needed able leadership in Mozambique. This was very critical from 1964 up to 1969 when he was assassinated.
- Eduardo launched an armed struggle against the Portuguese in 1964.
- He mobilized and recruited the freedom fighters in Mozambique, trained them in guerrilla warfare leading to independence.
- Mondlane solicited assistance from the UNO.
- Mondlane appealed for support from the OAU.
- Mondlane united the people of Mozambique. These included tribes like Makonde, Makua, Nyanja and Tsonga.
- Eduardo mobilized the working class and the business community to render support to the cause of Mozambique independence.
- Mondlane enlisted women in the Liberation struggle.
- Mondlane held negotiations with the socialist Portuguese government of Antonio Despinola which consequently yield independence.

CIVIL WARS IN PORTUGUESE COLONIES

Civil wars were fought shortly after independence and they heightened disunity. These included;

- Angola (1975 – 2002)
- Mozambique (1977 – 1994)

THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA (1975 – 2002)

Reference Questions

1. **Explain the causes and effects of the civil war in Angola in 1975.**
2. **Account for the collapse of political peace in Angola in 1975.**
3. **Explain the factors for the collapse of national unity in Angola in 1975**.

Preamble:

Reference has to be made that as soon as Angola attained independence on 11th November 1975, the new MPLA government of Agustinho Neto and later Eduardo Dos Santos conflicted with the alliance of UNITA of Jonas Savimbi and FNLA of Holden Roberto leading to a war, ie civil war.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR

1. The colonial history / legacy of Angola contributed to the civil war. It should be noted that the Portuguese divided the Angolans on tribal basis. These tribes included the Bakongo, Mbundu and Ovimbundu hence creating hatred and micro nationalism hence wars.

2. Inadequate preparation for independence in Angola led to the civil war. It ought to be remembered that after the 1974 Lisbon coup in Portugal, Africans in Angola hurried to take on leadership and manage sectors like Police and army without preparation.

3. The militarization of Angola inevitably caused the civil war. All the rival liberation movements had established an army to fight the Portuguese in the struggle for independence. MPLA had 1.5million troops, UNITA had 2million and FNLA had 700,000 soldiers. All these were not disarmed and put their armies to test after independence.

4. Ethnic differences in Angola caused the civil war. It is true that the country was divided along tribal lines eg the MPLA had the support of the Mbundu, UNITA had the Ovimbundu and FNLA had the Bakongo. This increased ethnic disunity leading to the war.

5. Ideological differences caused by cold war politics made the civil war in Angola inevitable. The MPLA party had the support of the communist states led by Cuba and Soviet Union. On the contrary, UNITA and FNLA had the patronage of capitalist states. This left the nationalists divided ideologically making the war unavoidable.

6. Personal ambitions of the nationalists caused the war. The power clash between MPLA of Neto failed to compromise with Roberto Holden of FNLA and Savimbi of UNITA. Militarism was the only solution to the rivaling nationalists.

7. The uncompromising character of Jonas Savimbi caused the civil war in Angola. He was power hungry, had captured some parts of Angola and accumulated wealth, rejected peace talks from the UNO and OAU organized meetings, he said:

‘’ I will never rest unless I become president of Angola”.

8. The discriminative policy of Agustinho Neto caused the civil war in Angola. He was very arrogant and never allowed to share power with other parties like FNLA and UNITA, yet these played a pivotal role in weakening the Portuguese. Failure to share the power and the inclusion of the other parties in the decisions of the country caused the war.

9. Weaknesses of the OAU laid a foundation for the war. The OAU had a policy of non interference in the affairs of member states. This made it not to intervene, other members of OAU like Mobutu of Congo supported UNITA against the MPLA of Neto. Towards independence also OAU had recognized all the parties, though later MPLA was supported by OAU hence annoying the UNITA an FNLA causing the war.

10. The failure of the NAkuru Peace accord (protocol) of 1974 worsened the political climate in Angola. This was chaired by President Arap Moi of Kenya to create a coalition government of the parties, ie MPLA, UNITA and FNLA. This didn’t come to pass as all the resolutions were not respected both by Neto and the divergent interests of UNITA under Jonas Savimbi hence causing the civil war.

11. The natural resource endowment of Angola caused the war. Angola had minerals like diamonds and oil and each party desired to have control of the minerals eg UNITA under Savimbi controlled the diamond deposits in Kabinda which made him strong, MPLA made a controversial deal with the European mining companies not to benefit the whole country. This war was declared to compel the government of MPLA to stop the Europeans mining companies.

12. The double standards of the UNO inevitably caused the Angolan war. The UN security council condemned the civil war in Angola and wanted peace to prevail. However, other members of UNO like USA secretly supported UNITA of Savimbi by selling weapons in exchange of minerals. This left the Angolan politics divided hence the civil war.

13. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola partly caused the civil war. These had been brought to assist the MPLA to mitigate South African aggression. This made the Capitalist USA to extend assistance to UNITA hence increasing hostility leading to the civil war.

14. The failure of the Angola Peace accords of 1989 also led to the civil war. This was signed between the Russian president Gorbachiev and the American president Ronald Reagan. These invited the conflicting MPLA and UNITA on a round table to resolve the conflicts.

The proposal was rejected by UNITA under Savimbi hence complicating the peace in Angola.

EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA

1. The war led to human suffering in Angola and the hopes of independence were destroyed due to misery, fear and insecurity.

2. It led to loss of lives and bodily harms like some had their parts amputated. Property was also destroyed in the country, ie homesteads and other infrastructure.

3. Agriculture was disrupted due to lack of concentration and fear, famine inevitably rocked Angola.

4. The war caused heavy government expenditure as the MPLA government spent millions on buying military hardware to sustain the war.

5. The war caused displacement of Angolans for the safety of their lives. The neighboring countries experienced refugee crisis like Congo Zaire, Namibia.

6. Angola became a centre of cold war politics attributed to the support of super powers. UNITA had the support of the capitalists eg USA and South Africa and MPLA attracted the attention of USSR and Cuba. These became proxy wars for super powers.

7. The civil war promoted neo-colonialism in Angola. It forced Portugal to continue influencing the policies in Angola. Angola was also forced to sell her minerals, ie oil and diamonds to developed nations in exchange of military equipment.

8. The civil militarized the politics of Angola as the culture of the gun was the solution in the country. MPLA and UNITA re-armed themselves to have political power in the country.

9. The civil escalated divisions and hatred in the country. National unity was compromised and avenues to democracy were futile. The government of Dos Santos of MPLA organized the elections of 1992 and the results were rejected by UNITA, this caused more problems in the country.

10. The Angolan civil war exposed the weaknesses of the OAU and UNO in solving conflicts. Both members of OAU like Congo of Mobutu and USA of UNO ended up supporting the war than creating peace.

11. The civil war in Angola partly delayed the independence of South African states. These included South Africa and Namibia. The Apartheid government of South Africa remained in Namibia to contain the spread of communism from Angola. Also the racist regime of South Africa gave support to Savimbi of UNITA to weaken the MPLA of communist policies.
12. The Angolan civil war attracted the attention of International agencies like ICRC (International Committee of Red Cross), UNICEF, UNHCR. These extended social services and other forms of assistance eg food, medicine to the war victims.

THE CIVIL WAR IN MOZAMBIQUE 1977 – 1994

Mozambique drifted to political unrest shortly after getting independence from Portugal. The civil war between FRELIMO under Samora Machel and the RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance) under Alfonso Dhlakama

CAUSES OF THE WAR

1. The Portuguese policy of divide and rule caused the war. Tribalism was promoted and other minority tribes eg the Nyanja were against the Makonde that dominated FRELIMO. This continued even after independence.

2. The unfair representation in the new independent government caused the civil war. The FRELIMO government ignored other parties like COREMO yet these played a central role in the liberation of Mozambique. These parties of COREMO and RENAMO got disgruntled.

3. The dictatorship of Samora machel of FRELIMO caused the war. Other political parties were banned and yet they needed to actively take part in the decision making of the country. This resulted into bloodshed organized by RENAMO against FRELIMO.

4. The uncompromising character of Samora and later Joachim Chisano caused the war. Chisano who replaced Machel in 1986 after the assassination was very repressive, and censored the press. All these caused the war in 1977.

5. The increased militarism in the country caused the war. The war of independence made the country to have military bases, ie FRELIMO and RENAMO. These were not disbanded after independence and the culture of the gun continued in the country.

6. The ambitions and greed for power by the political leaders like Dhlakama Alfonso caused the civil war. Alfonso claimed to be representing the interests of the nationals. He used the military approach to claim the benefits from the FRELIMO led government.

7. High rate of unemployment and poverty caused the civil war. The FRELIMO did not put in place any tangible strategy to uplift the standards of living of the people. These caused frustrations among the war veterans hence the civil war.

8. Existence of micro-nationalism in Mozambique caused the war. Most tribes valued their norms, culture at the expense of national unity eg the Makonde, Nyanja,makua and all these stemmed from colonial history.

9. Ideological differences in Mozambique caused the war. FRELIMO adopted a communist policy that led to the nationalization of property in the country. Therefore, the rich citizens and RENAMO that opted for capitalism launched the civil war in the country.

10. The influence of South Africa in the affairs of Mozambique caused the war. The Apartheid regime feared communism in Mozambique and its role as a member of Frontline states that supported the ANC of South African blacks. Therefore, South Africa gave support to RENAMO in Mozambique.

11. Neo-colonialism in Mozambique caused the civil war. The Portuguese continued to influence policies in Mozambique majorly to the RENAMO rebels. The Portuguese had lost capital in the wars of independence, hence decided to establish links with the rebels in Mozambique.

Other factors;

- Weakenesses of the OAU
- The double standards of the UNO
- The influence of the civil war in Angola, ie Savimbi of UNITA shared the experiences of the war with Dhlakama Alfonso.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR

1. Led to loss of lives and property ie, about 1.5 million people died in the war.

2. Resulted into economic retardation of the Mozambique economy, ie agriculture and industrialization registered a setback.
3. The war resulted into the assassination of Samora Machel in a plane crash in 1986. The blame was put on the Apartheid government in Pretoria to have master minded as it gave support to RENAMO forces.
4. Led to heavy government expenditure leading to heavy external borrowing. This increased the debt burden of Mozambique.
5. Undermined national unity in Mozambique due to neo-colonial tendencies.
6. Worsened the relationship between the government of Mozambique and the Apartheid South African government.
7. Cold war politics was promoted in Mozambique.
8. Refugee crisis increased most especially in the Southern African states.
9. International community organizations increased their assistance to Mozambique eg UNICEF, UNHCR, ICRC etc. These put strategies to end the war in 1994 after signing a cease fire, ie Chisano of FRELIMO and RENAMO.
10. The RENAMO became a legitimate political party and allowed to take part in national elections. Most soldiers of RENAMO were integrated in the national army of FRELIMO.
11. Weaknesses of the OAU and the UNO were exposed in their failure to end the crisis in Mozambique.

THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES (ECOWAS)

It was formed in Lagos in Nigeria on 25th May 1975 and the treaty that established it was in Lome in Togo 1976.

It is composed of 16 member states to include; Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Gabon, Benin, Mali, Ivory Coast, Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry, etc. The last country to join was Cape Verde.

It cut across the Anglophone and Francophone states.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF ECOWAS

- To promote economic competition and integration.
- To promote viable infrastructural development mainly transport and communication.
- To promote free trade and movement of people.
- To promote agriculture through joint project between member states.
- To achieve the common market and single currency.
- To settle regional conflicts.
- To promote education.
- To establish the West African parliament.
- To promote industrial development and avoid duplication of goods and services.

ACHIEVEMENTS

- ✓ Intervened and settled regional conflicts in West Africa, ie brought peace in Liberia after the years of blood shed following the murder of Sergent Samuel Doe, ie ensured peace and stability.
- ✓ Created a military and economic monitoring group ie, ECOMOG. This intervened in many problems in West Africa eg Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast.
- ✓ Filled the economic gap which was created after the withdrawal of the Europeans, ie colonial masters. ECOWAS provided economic assistance to the members of West Africa to alleviate economic hardships. (Funded the West African Power Pool (WAPP) eg DIAMA and Richardtoll Dams in Senegal.
- ✓ Promoted free movement of people through the removal of visa restrictions and passports. This created jobs, promoted cultural fusion and a sense of unity in the region.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted free trade by removing trade barriers eg tariffs, embargoes and quotas. They adopted a trade liberalization scheme that boosted economic development.
- ✓ Promoted education in West Africa. This was through students exchange schemes and this elevated the quality of education.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted co-operation in the member states. These countries worked together to address economic and social aspirations of the people in West Africa.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted Pan Africanism, ie unity, solidarity and preservation of independence. This explains the West Africans' role in cementing African unity ie Ghana, Nigeria, etc.
- ✓ ECOWAS has promoted agriculture and agro-processing industries. Agricultural production, export trade increased. This mitigated famine.
- ✓ Promoted environmental preservation by adopting a scheme in 1982 of afforestation in the Sahel region.
- ✓ ECOWAS promoted infrastructural development in West Africa. It developed ports, dams, harbors, roads, railway and airports. These improved on the movement of people and commodities and enhanced soc-econ development.
- ✓ ECOWAS mobilized international aid for West African states. Countries organized both financial and military aid from European Union, ie NATO, USA and these have contributed to technical support to ECOMOG, to have a battalion to keep peace in West Africa.

FAILURES OF ECOWAS / CHALLENGES

- ❖ ECOWAS has been characterized with political instabilities in form of civil wars, internal conflicts and military coups eg Togo, Nigeria, Ivory Coast.
- ❖ The interstate conflicts have dogged the integration eg in 1984, Ghana closed her borders to the rest of the member states, Nigeria Vs Cameroon over the Bekasi Peninsular.
- ❖ There has been lack of reliable social and economic infrastructure eg the undeveloped roads, railway which hampered trade and mobility of labor.

- ❖ Over reliance on agricultural production has been a challenge of ECOWAS. Not much diversification, whose dependence comes with fluctuations ie similar crop production
- ❖ Unequal benefits from the activities of the community is a challenge. Some nations have benefited more than others eg Nigeria, Ghana compared to others.
- ❖ Tendency of Anglophone countries meddling into the activities of ECOWAS. Commonwealth organisation has tried to pull former colonies towards its policies contrary to Francophone hence affecting decisions.
- ❖ Failed to eradicate poverty in the region. Many countries in West Africa are too poor and have failed to meet the financial obligations eg Togo has always defaulted.
- ❖ There has been competition for the MNCS. This has led to provision of cheap commodities which flood the market and end up dictating the prices of goods in the region.
- ❖ The ECOWAS has failed to have a common currency. This has created a problem of exchange rates. Currencies used are pegged on the medium of exchange of the former colonial masters eg pounds hence hindering free trade.
- ❖ Failed to have common political ideologies, ie capitalism and communism / marxism. This intensified conflicts and undermined the activities of the integration.

CHALLENGES OF ECOWAS

- ➢ Vastness of the West African sub region, ie bigger nations eg Nigeria used the size to dominate the ECOWAS.
- ➢ Poverty and indebtedness of the member states.
- ➢ Civil wars eg Liberia and Sierra Leone.
- ➢ Ideological differences among the member states.
- ➢ Limited personnel in the ECOMOG force.
- ➢ Lack of a common language.
- ➢ Differences in the colonial backgrounds have affected long term decision making.
- ➢ Neo-colonial influence / interference from the West.
- ➢ Military coups.
- ➢ Falling prices of agricultural products eg rubber, cocoa weakened the economies.
- ➢ Differences in the level of development hence hampering co-operation.
- ➢ Severe drought of 1982.
- ➢ Border conflicts.
- ➢ Rise of illicit trade / smuggling across the national borders.
- ➢ Disrespect among leaders eg ECOWAS countries.
- ➢ Failure to respect ECOWAS agreements / delay to implement agreements.
- ➢ Poor infrastructure due to limited funding of infrastructural development.
- ➢ Absence of laws governing the foreign investors.
- ➢ Lack of a common currency.

- Dictatorial leadership.
- Limited commitment by members.
- Economic nationalism / protectionism among the member states.
- Competition from other regional organizations / members belong to more that one organization or divided loyalty.
- Poor quality goods, produced can not attract competitive market.

AFRICAN SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA

African Socialism in Tanzania was adopted through the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and implemented through the Ujamaa scheme / policy.

The Arusha Declaration was a government paper that ushered the Ujamaa policy.

The Ujamaa policy / scheme referred to the spirit of brotherhood, familyhood.

It required the majority Tanzanians to go back to the villages for effective national development.

NB: The policy was adopted by Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere in 1967 and stretched to 1985.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF UJAMAA POLICY / AFRICAN SOCIALISM / ARUSHA DECLARATION OF 1967

1. It was aimed at creating a classless society in Tanzania (egalitarian).
2. The concept was aimed at cementing national unity in Tanzania.
3. To increase agricultural production through better use of labour.
4. It was aimed at promoting self – reliance and defend the independence of Tanzania.
5. The desire to prevent neo-colonialism or foreign influence and hegemony.
6. To mobilize masses for national defense and development.
7. The need to eradicate poverty from Tanzania.
8. Nyerere also aimed at ensuring industrial development.
9. The need to uplift the standards of living of the people.
10. To ensure food security and eradicate famine through agricultural modernization.
11. To promote equality and reduce income inequality.
12. To fight corruption in government and party officials.
13. To ensure rural development and transformation and curb Rum.
14. To create a national language and ease communication.

SAMPLE QUESTIONS

a) Account for the adoption of the African socialism in Tanzania.

Approach

- Give a viable definition
- Give the aims / objectives of socialism

b) Describe the features of socialism in Tanzania between 1967 and 1985.

African socialism in Tanzania was also referred to as the Ujaama policy adopted during the Arusha declaration of 1967.

The features of socialism included the following;

- The state controlled the means of production and hence no individual ownership like land.
- Socialism followed a one party system, ie Tanzania African National Union (TANU) which later became to be the Chama chamapenduzi (C.C.M).
- The policy of socialism was composed of income equality and strongly castigated differentials in society.
- There was forced villagization, ie people were encouraged to go and develop the rural areas.
- The policy emphasized the revival of African cultural values in Tanzania.
- It emphasized centralized planning. The Central government of Nyerere originated all the policies and handed down to the villages.
- Socialism featured patriotism among the people of Tanzania- a virtue intended to have deep love for the nation and work towards its development.
- The policy of socialism featured the introduction of a national language Kiswahili, this forged unity and eased communication.
- The policy encouraged social justice and welfare, ie education and medical facilities in the villages.
- Socialism encouraged hard work among the Tanzanians as also people had a responsibility to work for the nation.
- The policy put more emphasis on agriculture with the intention to have adequate food to mitigate famine.
- It featured the development of small scale industries. These were majorly set up on the established farms to add value.
- Socialism emphasized self-reliance and reduce the negative effects of external borrowing associated with negative evils.
- Grass root democracy was reflected in the socialism of Tanzania. These were in form of village councils in line with the Central government requirements.
- The policy of socialism laid more emphasis on lower education, ie universal primary education.
- The policy emphasized the national defense of Tanzania through the creation of an army, ie Tanzania Peoples Defense Forces (TPDF).
- Socialism emphasized unity through the removal of classes in society which ensured consolidated development.

ACHIEVEMENTS / SUCCESSES / STRENGTHS OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA (UJAAMA / ARUSHA DECLARATION

POLITICAL

1. The policy led to the establishment of a strong national army, ie the Tanzanian Peoples' Defense Force (TPDF). This promoted order and stability in Tanzania.
2. African socialism encouraged national unity and brotherhood among the people of Tanzania. This was attributed to the collective effort of the nationals.
3. The policy gave Tanzanians a leadership code that shaped a people centred leadership. This was because of the creation of village councils and people were potential leaders of CCM.
4. Socialism in Tanzania promoted democracy of grass roots where the masses in the Ujaama villages could vote their own leaders.
5. The Ujaama policy encouraged nationalism and a spirit of patriotism among the Tanzanians. Julius Nyerere tried to instill a spirit of love for the country.
6. Socialism attempted to reduce on the levels of corruption and embezzlement in public institutions. This was through putting in place stringent measures against corruption.

ECONOMIC

7. The policy encouraged hard work in the initial stages. This tried to alleviate laziness among the Tanzanians.
8. It increased agricultural production like the maize boom of 1978. This went a long way in creating food security and increased revenue for Tanzania.
9. The policy led to the establishment of physical infrastructure like feeder roads in the Ujamaa villages. These eased marketing of agricultural products.
10. The Ujamaa policy introduced a progressive taxation system in Tanzania. This is where the high income earners were more taxed than the low income earners hence reducing conflicts in society.
11. The policy promoted tourism where foreigners (tourists) frequented Tanzania to witness an African system that challenges western capitalism.
12. Socialism led to the nationalization of the major means of production like land. Land was redistributed to the masses especially in the Ujamaa villages which encouraged higher productivity.
13. Industrialization was promoted in Tanzania. There were small scale processing and cottage industries which provided employment to Tanzania to reduce poverty levels.
14. The policy promoted self-reliance in Tanzania between 1967 and 1969. This helped to check neo-colonialism and the likely manifestations.

SOCIAL

15. The Ujamaa policy led to the emergence of urban centres. The Ujamaa villages turned into functional urbanization hence leading to provision of better social amenities.
16. The policy led to the provision of better social services like piped water, improved health services and education. This improved on the standard of living.
17. Socialism in Tanzania encouraged literacy through the provision of universal primary education and adult literacy campaigns. This literacy mainly emphasized agricultural education.
18. Ujamaa encouraged equal opportunities for all in order to reduce the gap between the "haves" and "have nots". This limited the civil servants to one job to create room for other citizens.
19. Socialism led to the forging / creation of Kiswahili as a national language. This eased communication, promoted trade and consolidated unity in Tanzania.
20. Co-operative societies were created in Tanzania. This compelled the rural farmers to come together for resource mobilization hence increasing output.
21. The policy promoted African culture among the Ujamaa villages. This was because of the settlement of the people together and sharing ideas based on African structural set up.

SHORT COMINGS / FAILURES / WEAKNESSES OF UJAMAA

1. Ujamaa promoted single party democracy in Tanzania through Chama ChamaPenduzi (CCM). This groomed dictatorship in Tanzania and undermined the objectives of African socialism.
2. The policy failed to promote self- reliance in Tanzania. This is evidenced when Nyerere from 1971 began encouraging foreign investment in Tanzania.
3. The policy promoted economic backwardness in Tanzania. This was attributed to the unfriendly policies that the masses did not get involved in.
4. The Ujamaa policy failed to give Tanzania an independent and sustainable political system it desired. It therefore collapsed in 1985 with the demise of Nyerere from the political scene.
5. The policy did not have appeal from the majority Tanzanians. The policy was imposed on the citizens without due consultation, hence a weakness.
6. The Ujamaa policy was composed of forceful villagisation and this promoted the destruction of property.
7. The policy promoted rural-urban migration in Tanzania and its negative associated evils. The Youths who opposed the policy abandoned the Ujamaa villages in search for a better life in towns. This affected the agrarian systems that manifested famine.

8. The nationalization of land led to loss of security over land. This affected the citizens and undermined peace and increased resistance in Tanzania.
9. The system promoted some traces of capitalism, ie private ownership of property. This widened the gap between the "Haves" and "Have nots" in society and it undermined the equality in society.
10. The Ujamaa villages promoted congestion with all the associated problems like inadequate provision of social services, uncalled for diseases like Cholera and Typhoid.
11. The principle of Communism undermined the initiative to work. It therefore promoted laziness among people and the spirit of hard work was undermined.
12. The system was dominated by corruption and embezzlement of government funds. The officials of the policy became inefficient and accepted bribes and this was common among the CCM members.
13. The Ujamaa policy ignored higher education in Tanzania. Elementary education was emphasized with lower primary being favored, man power gap became so high and opened neo-colonial experts.
14. Socialism promoted neo-colonialism in Tanzania. This was attributed to excessive borrowing from the capitalist world and other foreign investors from 1975. This undermined the aims of Ujaama.
15. The levels of industrialization remained very low in Tanzania attributed to Ujamaa policy. The policy promoted small scale and processing industries. Tanzania largely depended on the importation of manufactured goods that reduced the foreign exchange.
16. The policy promoted environmental deforestation in Tanzania. This is because large tracts of forests were cut in order to create land for agriculture and settlement. The rainfall totals reduced and climatic imbalance was witnessed.
17. The Ujamaa policy was very expensive to be sustained in Tanzania. This compelled the government of Julius Nyerere to borrow funds from International financial institutions hence making Tanzania become indebted.

REFERENCE QUESTIONS

1. Account for the adoption of the one- party system of government in Tanzania after independence. (2013).
2. Examine the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the history of Tanzania up to 1985 (2012).
3. To what extent was the "Ujamaa" policy in Tanzania successful? (2010).
4. Assess the impact of the 1967 Arusha Declaration to the people of Tanzania (2009).
5. Account for the adoption of African socialism in Tanzania after 1967 (2008).
6. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania (2000).
7. Examine / assess the achievements of the Ujamaa policy in Tanzania between 1967 – 1985.

Examine the contribution of Julius Nyerere to the history of Tanzania up to 1985.

- **Give the role / positive role of Nyerere.**
- **Give failures.**
- **Stand point**.

Nyerere was the first president of the Republic of Tanzania and led the country in 1961 to 1985.

ROLES

POLITICAL

1. Transformed Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1954.
2. Led Tanganyika to independence in 1961.
3. Promoted multi-racial unity between, ie Arabs and Africans.
4. Spearheaded the merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964.
5. Promoted socialism in Tanzania under the 1967 Arusha Declaration.
6. Created a People's army, ie TPDF in Tanzania.
7. Promoted mass nationalism / patriotism in Tanzania.
8. Promoted territorial sovereignty of Tanzania, ie defended the boundaries of Tanzania especially the Amin's time in Uganda.
9. Provided exemplary leadership to the people of Tanzania.
10. Maintained political stability in Tanzania.
11. Promoted egalitarianism / equality in Tanzania.

ECONOMIC ROLES / CONTRIBUTION

- Promoted agricultural modernization in Tanzania.
- Nationalized the major means of production, ie land.
- Created the Ujaama villages that promoted / boosted production.
- Created co-operative movements which eased the marketing of agricultural products.
- Promoted small scale industries, ie processing of agricultural products.
- Changed the attitude of people towards work.
- Led to infrastructural developments eg roads.
- Emphasized rural development through the Ujamaa village.
- Promoted income equality which reduced conflicts.
- Promoted self-reliance in Tanzania in the initial years of independence to reduce effects of neo-colonialism.
- Re-distributed land in Tanzania.

SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION

- Created a national language – Kiswahili which consolidated unity and trade.
- Promoted education through elementary structure of lower primary.

- Provided health services through the setting up of hospitals and other health centres.
- Provided clean water in Tanzania.
- Re-designed the education system to suit the needs of the people.

NEGATIVE CONTRIBUTION / WEAKNESSES

POLITICAL

- ❖ Promoted dictatorship through one party system, ie CCM.
- ❖ Corruption persisted.
- ❖ Failed to fight Neo- colonialism.
- ❖ Socialism failed in Tanzania.
- ❖ Conflicted with neighboring states, ie Uganda.

ECONOMIC

- ❖ Failed to increase agricultural production, ie famine struck the country in the 1970's.
- ❖ Made Tanzania to register shortage of foreign exchange due to limited exports.
- ❖ The policy of self-reliance failed under Nyerere.
- ❖ There was low industrial development or output due to the small scale industries.
- ❖ Communal farming failed.
- ❖ Nyerere mismanaged the state enterprises.
- ❖ Income inequality persisted.
- ❖ Failed to fully handle the unemployment problem.
- ❖ Farmers associations offered low prices for the produce.
- ❖ Nyerere accumulated foreign debts for Tanzania.

SOCIAL

- ❖ Wide spread poverty persisted.
- ❖ Diluted the education system.
- ❖ Detribalized Tanzania and they lost touch with their relatives.
- ❖ The Uganda villages he created led to overcrowding with associated problems.

1. Assess the contribution of African socialism to the development of Tanzania between 1967 and 1985.
2. Examine the impact of the 1967 Arusha declaration in the modernization of Tanzania.
3. To what extent did the Ujaama policy contribute to nation building in Tanzania?

Preamble

- Viable introduction
- Role of African socialism, ie political, social, and economic.
- Other factors.
- Conclude.

African socialism in Tanzania was adopted through the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and implemented through the Ujamaa scheme.

OTHER FACTORS

- Colonial legacy, ie Western policies introduced by the Germans and the colonial developments by the British.
- Good and focused leadership eg Nyerere and his successors.
- Geographical location of Tanzania, ie at the Eastern Coastline of Africa with harbors like Dar-es-salaam.
- Early contact with the people of the middle East eg Seyyid's rule at the coast eg the introduction of cloves.
- The role of Kiswahili which promoted unity and patriotism.
- Membership to the EAC and SADC.
- The sparse population of Tanzania.
- The role of the Tanzam railway.
- Communist support especially from China that aided the modernization of the harbor at Dar-es-Salaam's railway.
- Tanzanian membership to the OAU/AU eg the headquarters of the liberation committee.
- Lack of a strong dominating ethnic group thus leading to national unity and development.
- Existence of mineral resources eg Diamond at Mwadui.
- Existence of foreign investments, ie multi-national companies to increase revenue and job creation.

THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU)

The OAU was a continental African body that was founded on 25th May 1963 at a conference in Addis Ababa by 32 independent African states.

It reconciled the Casablanca and Monrovia ideological groupings to have a common union charter.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF OAU

- To promote African unity and solidarity.
- To defend the sovereignty of states and integrity
- To eradicate all forms of colonialism in Africa.

- To promote international co-operation.
- To promote regional economic integration.
- To coordinate and intensify cooperation of African states.
- To respect human rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human rights of 1948.

ACHIEVEMENTS / SUCCESSES OF OAU

These include;

1. The OAU achieved continental unity. This was exhibited by the one voice spoken by the member states during the summits and conventions.

2. Promoted international cooperation. This was due to the good relations between the United Nations and the European Economic Community, ie, the current European Union. This increased joint and global problem solving.

3. OAU contributed to the eradication of colonialism in Africa. This was through the Liberation Committee in Tanzania. The Committee mobilized and extended support to the Mobilization Liberation Front (FRELIMO), ANC, SWAPO which aided countries to get independence.

4. The OAU tried to solve interstate conflicts in Africa. This was through the mediation and reconciliation Commission to alleviate misunderstandings eg Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden province 1976 – 1977, Congo and Uganda, Morocco and Algeria etc.

5. Managed to expand membership from 32 in 1963 to include almost the entire continent. This was a remarkable achievement and it reprimanded states which acted contrary to the objectives such as Morocco.

6. Succeeded in condemning secessionism and balkanization of the African continent. These included the Katanga secession (1960 – 1963), Biafra in Nigeria (1967 – 1970). This consolidated the independence of African states.

7. Promoted regional economic integrations in Africa. These included the setting up of EAC in 1967, Economic Community of West African states in 1975, COMESA in 1993 and SADC in 1979.

8. Tried to settle the refugee problem in Africa. This was done through the Commission for refugees established in 1965. African states tried to settle (IDPs) in camps in conjunction

with UNHCR. The OAU also set up a general fund to extend assistance, ie food, medicine and shelter.

9. Revived and preserved African culture. This was achieved through organizing African cultural festivals like in Nigeria in 1973, and others held in Egypt. The organization also encouraged games and sports through the All African games hosted in South Africa.

10. Promoted democratic governance and democracy in Africa. This was done through castigating the occurrence of coups during its tenure eg the 1965 coups in Algeria and Congo, 1971 in Uganda etc. Leaders who proved to be dictators were encouraged to institute elections and respect the rights of masses; (Nigeria under Sani Abacha, Boukassa and Mariam Mengitsu).

11. The OAU established the African Development Bank in Abidjan in Ivory Coast. This extended development loans to African states and gave the lowest interest rates in order to prevent borrowing from the Western Banks.

12. Promoted scientific research in Africa. This was through the Science and Technological Commission of OAU. The African Medical Research Fund (AMREF) worked with International organizations to eradicate diseases and encourage the use of local herbs, control diseases eg East Coast Fever, Locusts in Central Africa etc.

13. Condemned civil wars on the African continent. The OAU also tried to physically intervene in the ending of civil wars eg the 1965 – 1982 Chadi war, the OAU tried to lay strategies by condemning African countries involved and called for peace.

14. The body condemned the continuous assassination of African leaders. This had become prevalent like Sankara of Burkina Faso, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Laurent Kabila of Congo, among others.

15. The OAU called upon members to adopt or embrace the idea of Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The policy emphasized neutrality during cold war politics of Super powers. Member countries were discouraged from allowing USA or USSR to set up military bases.

16. The body ensured a harmonious relationship between the Arab North and the Sub-saharan African composed of the Blacks. This increased African benefits from the Arab League with Headquarters in Cairo. Algeria was more Pan-African than any other. (OPEC).

17. The body existed for a long period of time from 1963 – 2002. This was a remarkable achievement as it celebrated many anniversaries amidst many continental and global challenges.

FAILURES / WEAKNESSES OF OAU

1. Failed to establish a continental armed force (high command). This made it too weak to check wars and rebel activities and observing total peace at the continent remained a dream.
2. Failed to have an African parliament where continental challenges could be addressed.
3. Failed to achieve the desired United States of Africa due to intrigue and squabbles among the member states.
4. Failed to ensure complete and total decolonization of the continent. This is evident with the Western Sahara under the influence of Morocco.
5. Failed to end military coups on the continent eg 1971 and 1985 in Uganda, 1966 July and January in Nigeria, 1966 in Ghana, 1980 Liberian coup among others.
6. Failed to end the interstate conflicts eg Uganda and Tanzania, ie Amin's regime, Nigeria and Cameroon border conflicts.
7. Failed to enforce the idea of NAM and Neo-Colonialism became prevalent. This was because of the dire need for development aid and 1970 – 2002, African countries received 294 Billion Dollars. This made countries to struggle in servicing the loans.
8. Failed to do away with the dictators on the continent eg Boukassa of CAR, Amin in Uganda, Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, Sani Abacha in Nigeria. This increased neo-colonialism to entrench in power, but OAU maintained the Principle of non-interference.
9. Failed to get a permanent remedy to refugee crisis. This was due to the rampant wars not addressed that made Africans migrate across the continent eg. Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Congo and Burundi. This increased suffering.
10. The OAU failed to enforce the subscription of the financial obligations. This hindered OAU to finance its set budget on the continent.
11. Failed to wipe out poverty on the continent. Africans were ranked the first in poverty in the world, majority live below one dollar a day, diseased and ignorant. The income per capita of Africa was very low.
12. Abuse of human rights remained a big challenge. These were eminent during dictatorial regimes of Amin in Uganda, Mobutu of Zaire etc, which tarnished the African continent.
13. Failed to wipe out famine. People go without meals.
14. Africa dominated by poor infrastructure, ie the Trans-Africa high way from Mombasa to Lagos failed. Slums are very common in Africa due to poverty.
15. Failed to eliminate civil wars and interstate wrangles eg Chadi, Mozambique (1977 – 1994), Sudan, Angola etc.

CHALLENGES / OBRACLES / PROBLEMS TO OAU

1. Lack of a common continental language made it difficult for the OAU to promote meaningful co-operation.
2. The frequent occurrence of military coups which undermined the work of the OAU in promoting democracy.
3. The presence of dictators in Africa like Mobutu in Congo, Bokassa of CAR, Mengitsu in Ethiopia, Amin in Uganda and Mugabe in Zimbabwe.
4. The OAU was greatly overwhelmed by the growing number of refugees. This presented a burden to the host member countries by sharing the scarce resources.
5. Poorly developed infrastructure between the member states. This limited trade and economic cooperation among the member states.
6. Interstate conflicts became a major challenge, ie Uganda vs Tanzania during Amin's era, Ethiopia and Somalia over Ogaden, Nigeria vs Cameroon.
7. The presence of neo-colonialism hence making African states to attain total decolonization.
8. The oil crisis of 1973 – 1974 drastically affected the effective operation of OAU, ie made countries to adopt unfair strategies (affected regional economic integration).
9. The failure of the member states of OAU to meet their subscriptions made the work very hard.
10. The frequent outbreak of civil wars in Africa, ie Chad, Congo, Nigeria, Angola, Somalia and Sudan.
11. General illiteracy among the masses of the OAU member states. This undermined the effort of fighting poverty, disease and ignorance.
12. Lack of an international peace keeping force of its own/army/high command. This made it impossible to intervene to solve the civil wars and other conflicts of the states.
13. Assassination of prominent African leaders like Samora Machel in 1986, Anwar Sadat in 1981, Amilcar Cabral in 1973, Chris Hani in 1993 etc.
14. Ideological differences during the cold war era. This made countries to adopt capitalism like Kenya and Tanzania communism. This affected uniformity in problem solving.
15. The geographical vastness (size) of the continent. The size of about 12 million square miles hindered the effectiveness in promoting political unity and trade in Africa.
16. The heterogeneous nature of the continent was a major obstacle. Very many races, tribes, cultural and ethnic differences. This made unity of purpose very hard.
17. The rampant outbreak of natural calamities like famine, floods and other epidemics. This compelled the UN and other organizations to take up the mantle of disaster management.
18. Colonial legacy was another obstacle to the OAU. Some African states continued to identify with the former colonial masters eg Anglophone and Francophone. This undermined decisions of African states.

Sample questions

1. Account for the formation of OAU in 1963.
2. To what extent did the OAU achieve the objectives of its founders?
3. Assess the achievements of the OAU between 1963 and 2002.
4. How successful was the organization of African unity in achieving the objectives of the founders?
5. Account for the failure of the OAU to fulfill the objectives of the founders.
6. Explain the problems / challenges of the OAU between 1963 and 2002.

THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The Egyptian revolution / coup was organized between 22nd and 23rd July 1952 by the Free Officers' Movement (F.O.M). The leaders included Abdel Gamel Nasser, Anwar Sadat and Neguib Muhammed against the despotic regime of King Farouk.

CAUSES OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION OF 1952

The causes were political, social and economic in nature.

ECONOMIC CAUSES

1. The extravagancy of King Farouk contributed to the outbreak of 1952 revolution. The king spent a lot of tax payers' money to meet his luxurious life; he constructed mansions for women in Cairo and Alexandria. He was ever on foreign trips to European countries leading to his unpopularity by 1952.

2. King Farouk and his government was very corrupt. The king and the Wafdist party leaders were very corrupt and composed of the privileged class in Egypt. These withdrew money from the National treasury and made lavish spending. This accelerated financial bankruptcy in the country leading to the revolution.

3. Failure of King Farouk to industrialize Egypt led to the coup of 1952. The Egyptian society remained largely backward. There were very few industries established and the country largely depended on imported goods. This resulted into unemployment, low revenue, hence the revolution.

4. Land alienation / conflicts partly caused the revolution. The largest percentage of land amounting to 87% had been grabbed by the Wafdist party and foreigners from France. This made the people (peasants) to lack agricultural land and become victims of food insecurity.

5. High levels of poverty among the Egyptians caused the revolution. This was attributed to the low levels of industrialization that made the peasants to live below the poverty line. Majority of the peasants could not afford a meal a day, pay fees for their children and access medical care hence creating a revolutionary mood.

6. Over taxation imposed on the Egyptians led to the revolution. King Farouk and his government imposed retrogressive taxes in Egypt intended to compel the poor people to work hard. However, the royal family, the Wafdist party were exempted. This made the army officers to organize a revolution in order to institute taxation reforms.

7. Massive unemployment in Egypt led to the collapse of Egyptian monarchy. The levels of unemployment had been created by the neglect of the industrial sector. Also, the Egyptians were not performing well in the agricultural sector in drought conditions given the semi-arid nature of Egypt; therefore F.O.M organized a coup against the Egyptian government.

8. High rates of inflation also caused the Egyptian revolution. The Egyptian economy was characterized by imported goods from countries experiencing inflation, hence imported inflation. High levels of corruption and extravagancy, persisted increase in prices of goods all contributed to inflation hence creating lack of trust in the government of King Farouk.

9. The continued occupation of the Suez Canal zone by foreigners led to the outbreak of the revolution. The Suez Canal was an international water way and it was used for lucrative (profitable) trade between Africa and middle East. However, the taxes were collected by Britain, France and shared with the government of King Farouk. The army officers wanted to stop the economic imperialism hence a revolution.

SOCIAL CAUSES

10. The poor health conditions of the Egyptians led to the outbreak of the revolution. King Farouk failed to manage the public health; there were very few hospitals amidst very few trained medical workers. The people of Egypt died of treatable diseases like Trachoma, Bilharzia, Dysentery, and this undermined the government of King Farouk which reduced people's life expectancy.

11. The neglect of the education system by King Farouk also caused the revolution. Egypt was characterised by high levels of illiteracy. The country had very few schools, education was very expensive and therefore the peasants would not educate their children. This made the public to get fed up with the government of King Farouk by 1952.

12. The gender inequality in Egypt caused the revolution. There were high levels of women discrimination. Women were not allowed to join politics and civil service yet they represented the highest percentage of the population. This led to wide spread discontent in society which undermined the government of King Farouk.

13. Nepotism and favoritism practiced by King Farouk led to the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy. The government of King Farouk reserved all lucrative jobs for the members of the royal family and the cabinet ministers. It is on record that Gen. Mohammad Neguib was dropped as an army commander in favour of King Farouk's cousin hence this compelled the F.O.M to organize a coup.

14. Classification in Egypt caused the revolution. King Farouk divided the Egyptian society into three classes, ie royal family at the top, foreigners, ie Turks and Britain in the second class, the business men and peasants at the bottom. This inspired Gamel Nasser and the colleagues to over throw the government.

15. The influence of the moslem brotherhood led to the downfall of King Farouk. This movement was formed by Hassan –as- Banna. He advocated for Islamic theocracy and therefore he won the support of Egyptian s leading to the collapse of King Farouk's regime.

16. Outbreak of famine caused the 1952 Egyptian revolution. This was attributed to land grabbing that left the peasants landless and Egypt experienced food shortages. The government of King Farouk attempted to import food which was highly expensive to the ordinary people, hence creating a revolutionary situation in 1952.

POLITICAL CAUSES

17. Dictatorship of King Farouk led to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy. He led without a constitution and imposed policies on the people. He was intolerant to the members of the opposition, banned political parties which led to the collapse of the government.

18. The impact of the Palestinian war of 1947-48 led to the outbreak of the revolution. The war was between Palestine and Israel and the government of Egypt contributed an army of defense to help the people of Palestine. The army was ill equipped, used outdated weapons hence its poor performance. Therefore, the F.O.M organized a coup to discipline the government of King Farouk.

19. Egypt's failure to be active in the Arab politics led to the outbreak of the revolution. Egypt was not highly sounding in matters of the Arab League and therefore the army

decided to overthrow King Farouk and make Egypt become influential in the Arab affairs.

20. The political ambitions of Gamel Nasser contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. Nasser was prompted to take over power right from childhood in secondary school. Nasser also wrote articles criticizing the government of Farouk, "The Egyptian government is dominated by corruption, Who will change it?", "Where is dignity?", Where is Nationalism?", Where is one that can call the activity of the youth?" this led to demonstrations which undermined the government of King Farouk.

21. Influence of World War II led to the downfall of King Farouk. This war produced a class of ex-servicemen who had military skills, the war also made Egypt to become bankrupt as King Farouk supported the British financially. The war led to inflation and poverty among Egyptians. All these contributed to the toppling of King Farouk's government.

22. Neglect of the Egyptian army by King Farouk led to the revolution. The army didn't have the required logistics in form of uniforms and army boots. The army was poorly paid, poorly accommodated and no meetings were organized to diagnose the challenges. This compelled the army officers to overthrow the government of King Farouk.

23. Foreign domination in Egypt caused the revolution. It should be noted that Egypt was granted independence in 1922. However, this remained on paper. Egypt was dominated by the British, French and the Turks who controlled the resources, eg the Suez Canal zone, therefore the army officers organized a coup.

QUESTIONS

1. Examine the causes of the 1952 Egyptian revolution. (Political, Social, and Economic)
2. To what extent was King Farouk responsible for his downfall in 1952?
3. "The collapse of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952 was inevitable." Discuss. (Causes of the revolution).
4. "The political factors made the outbreak of the Egyptian revolution inevitable". Discuss.

THE IMPACT OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION

The effects of the revolution on the people of Egypt were political, social and economic in nature.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

1. The status of women was improved in Egypt. These were employed as teachers, factory workers, accountants to earn money. The killing of girls in Egypt was banned. Women became cabinet ministers in the government of Gamel Nasser and many acquired university education.

2. Nasser introduced health reforms. This was accompanied by free medical services, the number of doctors and nurses increased hospitals, clinics and dispensaries were set up and this increased the life expectancy of the Nationals.

3. Improved on the education sector. This was done by establishment of primary, secondary and universities. Nasser banned the moslem and non moslem courts in Egypt. All cases were referred to the secular government court in an attempt to unite administration and promote justice.

4. Nasser also fought poverty by encouraging family planning. Large families were not encouraged and Egyptians were limited to three children and other children were to be taxed hence promoting the welfare.

5. Nasser encouraged the establishment of low cost houses in Egypt. The revolutionary government set up houses in Cairo, Alexandria, in order to cater for their standards of living.

ECONOMIC EFFECTS

6. The Egyptian revolution led to the formation of state controlled co-operatives. These were intended to provide modern agricultural services, cheap transport, fertilizers and machinery, hence leading to agricultural modernization.

7. There was improvement in the taxation system in Egypt. The revolutionary government introduced the progressive taxation system where the Egyptians were taxed according to their income. This was contrary to the retrogressive taxes imposed on the poor people.

8. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This had been occupied by the British, the French and the Israelites hence creating employment opportunities, leading to increased revenue and making Egypt get full independence.

9. The revolution led to the setting up of industries in Egypt. The government of Gamel-Nasser came up with a five year development plan of 1960 – 1965 leading to the establishment of manufacturing industries like steel products, tractors, fertilizers in Cairo, and Alexandria.

10. The government of Nasser promoted the tourism sector in Egypt. This targeted the Middle East, European countries using the Suez Canal zone as the short cut.

11. The government of Gamel-Nasser carried out land reclamation in Egypt. This was done through irrigation process in the desert areas of the Western parts of Egypt, ie Al-Qatara.

12. The government of Gamel-Nasser carried out land reforms in Egypt. The land which had been grabbed from the Fellaheens (Peasants) by the royal family and the Wafdist party was re-distributed among the peasants, hence reducing the land pressure.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

13. The revolution led to the collapse of the Egyptian monarchy. The government of King Farouk was defeated on the 26th of July 1952 and was forced to abdicate his throne and went to exile in Europe. This led to the establishment of the Republican government in Egypt.

14. The Free- officers' movement established a revolutionary command council in Egypt. This was the executive arm of the government under Neguib from 1952 – 1954 which was removed by Gamel Nasser.

15. Gamel Nasser drafted a democratic constitution in 1956. This led to the establishment of parliamentary democracy regulating the freedoms of the people.

16. Gamel Nasser promoted Arab unity in Egypt and abroad. Nasser made Egypt to join the union of the Magreb region, ie Tunisia and Algeria hence consolidating close allies.

17. Nasser fought against the corrupt leaders in Egypt. It is true that the government of King Farouk was dominated by rampant corruption. However, Nasser arrested and tried the corrupt people though many were pardoned to promote reconciliation.

18. The political prisoners were freed by the government of Gamel Nasser and this promoted justice and equality in the society.

19. The revolutionary government led to the establishment of a strong army in Egypt. The army was fully trained equipped using the appropriate weapons in the Soviet Union (USSR).

NEGATIVE IMPACTS

20. The government was dominated by inflation. This was attributed to the increased development projects which undermined the value of national currency and led to increase in the prices of essential goods.

21. The government was dominated by financial bankruptcy. This was due to increased external borrowing that made Egypt to be highly indebted to USA and Britain.

22. There was massive loss of lives and property due to Egypt's involvement in numerous wars eg the Suez Canal crisis of 1956, 6 days war of 1967 between Egypt and Israel.

23. Unemployment persisted in Egypt due to failure to create more jobs to match with the increasing population.

24. Egypt experienced unfavorable balance of payments. This was attributed to the poor progress in the export trade and high expenditure on imported goods.

SOCIAL EFFECTS

25. The government failed to reduce poverty among the people of Egypt. This therefore made the social, economic welfare of the people to remain low.

26. The government of Nasser failed to achieve total food security in the country. This made the country to resort to the purchase of American wheat and meat, imported rice to sustain the population.

27. Women emancipation was not fully achieved. Very few women were absorbed in the political circle; there were pockets of women segregation in Egypt.

28. The government ban on the Moslem brotherhood in Egypt intensified the terrorist activities in the country.

29. The education system in Egypt led to overcrowding in classes due to the free education provided to the children. This watered down the quality of education.

POLITICAL EFFECTS

30. The revolution paved way for the dictatorial and authoritative regime of Gamel Nasser.

31. Political activity among the civilians was suppressed and this led to the suffocation of people's rights and freedom.

32. The aggressive foreign policies of Gamel Nasser made Egypt to get more enemies eg Israel and this resulted into numerous wars between Egypt and Israel in Gaza province.

33. Nasser's socialist party failed by 1970 when he began cooperating with the capitalist bloc.

QUESTIONS:

1. Examine the consequences of the 1952 Egyptian revolution.
2. Assess the impact of the Egyptian revolution on Egypt.
3. How successful was Gamel Nasser's domestic policy?
4. Assess the achievements of Gamel Nasser in Egypt between 1954 – 1970

THE IMPACT / ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION TO THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

To what extent did the Egyptian Revolution influence the growth of African nationalism?

The Egyptian revolution took place in 1952, organized by the free officers movement led by Gamel Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat against the puppet regime of King Faouk.

To a greater extent, the Egyptian revolution contributed to the growth of African nationalism in the following ways;

1. The revolution led to the establishment of Radio Cairo. The radio was used to spread anti-colonial propaganda in Africa. This was used by the Mau-Mau fighters in Kenya to run a Kiswahili program against the British.

2. The Egyptian revolution served as an eye opener to dictatorial regime in Africa. It began with the destruction of the Egyptian monarchy and it spread across the continent targeting colonial masters.

3. The Egyptian revolution under Gamel Nasser extended the education scholarships to African students. This helped African nationalists from other countries to enroll in Egyptian universities. This in turn helped to fill up the man power gaps in Africa after the departure of colonialists.

4. The Egyptian revolution militarized African struggles for independence. Egypt under Gamel Nasser gave military and financial assistance to African countries like Kenya under the Mau-Mau, Algeria under Ben Bella leading to African independence.

5. Gamel allowed the nationalists to establish military external bases in Cairo. This included the FLN in Algeria formed in 1954. Gadafi had F.U.O training in Egypt.

6. The Egyptian revolution gave political asylum/protection to African nationalists. These included Ignatius Kangave Musaazi from Uganda, Patrice Lumumba from Congo. This helped their countries to destroy the colonial powers using Egypt as a coordinating centre.

7. Egypt under Gamel Nasser changed the attitude of the Arab North. It is historically true that Arabs had been associated with slave trade and therefore the countries south of the Sahara looked at Arabs as enemies. Therefore, Gamel Nasser united the African continent for the sake of independence.

8. Gamel Nasser of Egypt contributed to the formation of OAU in 1963. This was a result of the reconciliation of the Monrovia and Casablanca grouping in Addis Ababa. The OAU gave financial and military support to African countries.

9. The Egyptian revolution under Gamel Nasser encouraged the revival of African cultural values. This was done through encouraging African countries to practice local languages like Arabic, Kiswahili, Hausa etc, which brought unity among the people.

10. Gamel Nasser of Egypt encouraged African countries to nationalize foreign property. This began with the nationalization of the Suez Canal in Egypt 1956 that chased the British from the country. Other countries were encouraged to do the same for example Muammar Gadafi of Libya, idi Amin Dada of Uganda and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

11. Gamel Nasser of Egypt encouraged socialist policies. Socialist countries particularly USSR gave Nasser military and financial support to solve its external problems after the removal of IMF / W.B loan. Therefore, Nasser encouraged other countries to solicit support from the socialist countries, eg Mozambique, Angola, and Algeria.

12. Gamel Nasser under Egypt influenced African countries to adopt Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Nasser was part of the Bandung conference organized in 1955 that advocated for independent African ideologies, promoted Afro-Asian solidarity that made Asian countries to support Africans to get independence.

13. Revolutionary Egypt helped to destroy the British and French empires. It is on record that Gamel Nasser gave the Algerians support in 1954 making them get independence in 1962 leading to the rise of African Nationalism.

GAMEL NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICY (1954 – 1970)

Gamel was one of the free Officers Movement that overthrew the puppet regime of King Farouk in 1952. He was first the prime minister of Egypt and later became president in 1954 after the overthrow of Muhammad Neguib.

AIMS OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- ✓ To achieve total decolonization of the African continent.
- ✓ To destroy the state of Israel.
- ✓ To promote pan-Arabism
- ✓ To dominate world affairs.

SUCCESSES OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- ❖ Nasser successfully sent expatriates to African countries to help fill the man power gap after the departure of colonial masters. These expatriates included teachers, engineers, and doctors, for example in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

- ❖ Nasser promoted the use of African languages on the continent. This included Kiswahili, Arabic, Amhara, Hausa among others hence easing communication.

- ❖ Nasser succeeded in destabilizing the state of Israel. This was done through sponsoring the fierce fadeyeen commandos who destroyed the state of Televiv and bombarded areas in the country.

- ❖ Nasser succeeded in providing scholarships to African students. The African nationalists from Algeria, Congo Zaire and other Arab states were allowed to study from Egyptian

universities i.e. Cairo and Alexandria. This helped to create a class of elites to destroy the colonial bondage in Africa.

- ❖ Gamel Nasser provided propaganda support to African nationalists. Nasser gave moral, military and financial support to FLN of Algeria, the mau mau of Kenya leading to independence.

- ❖ Nasser influenced the over flow of pro – western leaders in Africa and Middle East. This included the over throw of King Idris of Libya by Muammar Gaddafi, the prime minister of Iraq.

- ❖ Gamel Nasser gave moral and diplomatic support to Tunisia and Morocco against the French rule which led to the twin independence of these countries in 1956.

- ❖ Nasser fully supported and promoted Pan Arabism. It is on record that Nasser made Egypt to be the headquarters of the Arab League and proceeded to establish the United Arab Republic i.e. Egypt and Syria in 1958.

- ❖ Gamel Nasser was one of the founder members of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. This was done through the reconciliation of the Casablanca and Monrovia groupings leading to the total unity of Africans.

- ❖ Nasser succeeded in promoting the Non – Aligned Movement (NAM) adopted in 1955 in Bandung. This was a conference organized by the Asian leaders i.e. Nehru of India and Surkano of Indonesia. The policy promoted positive neutrality in Africa and Afro – Asian Solidarity.

- ❖ Nasser promoted research in the African past. He encouraged the writing and the reconstruction of African history leading to the promotion of African cultural values.

- ❖ Nasser bridged the gap between the Arab North and Negro Africans. This changed the attitude of the blacks towards the Arabs hence a success.

FAILURES OF NASSER'S FOREIGN POLICIES

- Nasser promoted conflicts among Arab states and these included Morocco and Algeria. In this conflict, Nasser sided with Algeria leading to political instabilities in North Africa.

- Nasser frustrated the formation of the United States of Africa (USA). This had been proposed by Kwame Nkrumah to bring the continent together under one leadership.

- Nasser failed to maintain the United Arab Republic with Syria. Syria seceded and broke away in 1961 due to Nasser's foreign policies.

- Nasser failed to maintain and stick to the policy of Non – Aligned Movement adopted in 1955. The policy demanded that African countries Egypt inclusive do not follow socialism and capitalism however, Nasser got financial aid from USSR and Czechoslovakia to construct the Aswan High dam.

- Nasser lost many provinces of Egypt to other countries. These included the West bank of Jordan, the Goran heights, the eastern parts of Suez Canal, the Sinai province during six days war of 1969 with Israel.

- Gamel Nasser promoted political instabilities in Yemen and some parts of Saudi Arabia hence undermining the principles of Pan Arabism.

Reference Questions

1. How successful was Gamel Abdel Nasser's foreign policy between 1954 and 1970?
2. To what extent was Gamel Nasser's foreign policy successful between 1954 and 1970?

Approach

- A brief background of Gamel Nasser
- State the aims of the foreign policies
- A clear stand point
- Successes verses failures

THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL JULY 1956.

The Nationalization of the Suez Canal referred to the transfer of the ownership, control, management and financing of the Suez Canal into the hands of the Egyptian government. It took place in July 1956.

REASONS FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE SUEZ CANAL

- The failure of the British to respect the 1936 Anglo – Egyptian agreement. It should be recalled that the British entered an agreement to construct the canal and upon completion, the British were to take 40% and Egyptian economy was to take 60% however, this was not respected hence the nationalization.

- The strong anti – colonial feelings of Nasser contributed to the nationalization of the canal. This is evidenced when Nasser gave military and financial support to the Africans in Kenya against British and the FLN of Algeria against French.

- Nasser's recognition of the Bandung conference contributed to the nationalization of the canal. The conference emphasized positive neutrality of Africans against colonial masters i.e. capitalism which was being preached by the British hence the nationalization policy.

- The need to provide employment opportunities and generation of revenue compelled Nasser to nationalize the canal. Nasser reasoned that the expulsion of the British workers would create employment opportunities to the Egyptians, Egypt would be able to across the canal leading to nationalization.

- Nasser's arms deals with Czechoslovakia contributed to the nationalization policy. Czech Republic supported the policy of communism which had been embraced by Nasser which contradicted with capitalism. This inevitably caused the nationalization policy.

- The withdrawal of the offer of the financial assistance for the construction of the Aswan High Dam made nationalization inevitable. Egypt under Nasser had applied for a financial loan in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, this had been blocked by USA and British hence the nationalization of the Canal to generate the funds to construct the dam.

- Nasser's wish to establish his superiority in Egypt and in the Middle East led to the nationalization policy. It should be noted that Nasser attempted to establish the Arab League i.e. the composition of Arab countries in Africa and the Middle East and to sustain this program required money hence the nationalization principle.

- Nasser nationalized the Canal for personal reasons and prestige. It ought to be noted that Nasser wanted to consolidate his power by generating money from the Canal Zone hence nationalization policy.

- The need to increase the amount of the irrigable land in Egypt made nationalization inevitable. There was need to generate water from the Suez zone, Red sea and Mediterranean sea hence the nationalization of the canal to ensure food security.

- The impact of the Constantinople Convention made the nationalization policy inevitable. Articles in the convention emphasized the respect or property of independent countries and therefore Gamel Nasser based on the convention to nationalize the canal.

- Egypt's military skills in Africa contributed to the nationalization of the canal. It ought to be noted that Gamel Nasser had established a strong army which he used to support African nationalists. This military strength gave Nasser confidence to nationalize the canal.

Reference questions

Account for the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956.

THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS OCTOBER 1956

Qns

1. Account for the Suez Canal Crisis of 1956
2. Examine the causes and effects of 1956 Suez Canal Crisis
3. To what extent was the tripartite alliance responsible for the Suez Canal Crisis in 1956?
4. Assess the impact of the Suez Canal War in 1956.
5. To what extent was Gamel Abdel Nasser responsible for the outbreak of the 1956 Suez Canal Crisis?
6. Why was the Suez Canal nationalized in 1956
7. Explain the causes and effects of the Suez Canal nationalization.

It was a conflict that took place in 1956 when Britain, France and Israel conspired to attack and overthrow Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt who had nationalized the Suez Canal [It was an

imperialistic and aggressive war on the side of allied powers and a war of a liberation war for Egypt]

CAUSES

- Israel attacked Egypt on 29th October 1956 and occupied the Sinai Peninsula marking the beginning of the crisis so the crisis was due to the following factors;
- Nasser support to Fedeyean commandos against Israel caused the canal crisis. So between 1954 and 55, Nasser organized the Fedeyean guerillas and carried out sabotage acts on important installations in Israel and destroyed property and killed people. This provoked Israel and attacked Egypt in 1956 and the city of Telviv was left in shambles.
- The British and French secret assurance of support to Israel caused the canal crisis. This assurance made Israel courageous and convinced her to occupy the Sinai Peninsula on 29th October 1956. This compelled Nasser to respond militarily and on 5th November 1956, the Anglo- French forces intervened to assist Israel against Egypt. This escalated the attack into a full scale crisis.
- Nasser's closure of the gulf of Aquaba led to the Suez Canal Crisis. The Gulf was the only direct route for Israel. Its blockade disorganized Israel's trade and commercial activities. This provoked Israel to attack Egypt in order to reopen the gulf of Aquaba
- Nasser's consistent demand that British should remove her military base from the Suez Canal zone as provided for in 1954 Anglo – Egyptian agreement caused the crisis. However, the British were not set to leave the Canal Zone for strategic military interests. This provoked anti-Nasser reactions inform of Anglo-French attack.
- The Nationalization of the Suez Canal resulted into the canal crisis of 1956. Nasser took over control of the Suez Canal activities to the annoyance of Britain and France. The nationalization threatened Anglo French economic interests, for the Suez Canal wars, the shortest route for Britain and France to the oil producing states of the Persian Gulf. Therefore Britain and France were not prepared to give up control of the canal of Egypt. This resulted into the canal crisis.
- Nasser's rejection of the free users Association of the Suez Canal caused the Suez Canal Saga. Britain and France suggested the formation of the association to protect their interests

in the Canal Zone, but Nasser rejected it for fear of losing revenue. This made France and Britain to decide that Nasser should be over thrown at all costs for free use of canal services.

- Nasser's financial, military and moral support to the national liberation front (FLN) of Algeria provoked France to conspire with Britain and Israel to cause the Suez Canal Crisis. When Nasser started giving support to FLN freedom fighters in the war of independence, France felt antagonized and plotted to overthrow Nasser, in order to continue perpetuating their colonialism in Algeria.
- Nasser's strong support for anti – British rebels in Cyprus and in the Mau Mau activists in Kenya caused the Suez Canal Crisis. Nasser used Radio Cairo to propagate anti-colonial propaganda of the Mau – Mau, supplied war logistics to the Aouko rebels in Cyprus, etc. this threatened British Colonial interests and angered her to the extent of conspiring against Nasser's government.
- Nasser's anti-British influence in Jordan resulted into the canal crisis. Nasser persuaded king Hussein of Jordan to expel his British Chief of Staff. This incited anti-Nasser reaction from the British causing the Suez Canal Crisis
- Nasser's opposition to the Baghdad pact of 1955 caused the canal crisis. This pact was an anti soviet military alliance of Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. This was a threat to (NATO's) Nato's strategic interests in the Middle East during the cold war period, thus the capitalist countries reacted by invading Egypt.
- Nasser's recognition of the communist regime of Mao – tse – Tung in Peking and the denouncement of the Western backed government Nationalist government of Chiang Kai Sheik on the Island of Taiwan resulted into the crisis. This was seen as a gesture of defiance against the capitalists thus prompting them to ally against Nasser's government.
- Nasser's arms deal with the communist (Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) for Russian bombers and tanks caused the crisis. Nasser also invited the soviet experts to train Egyptian soldiers. This military advance of Egypt within the communists angered the western powers making them conspire against Nasser's government.
- The influence of the Bandung conference of 1955 on Nasser caused the Canal crisis. Nasser as a delegate to the Bandung conference came back and called for total eradication of all forms of colonialism, he was inspired to nationalize the Suez Canal which was the last part of

British colonialism thus Britain teamed up with France and Israel to fight the government of Nasser.

- The withdrawal of financial assistance meant for the construction of Aswan High dam which was of the centre stage of economic development of Egypt caused the canal crisis. Britain and U.S.A withheld substantial loan amounts meant for the dam construction and left Nasser with no option but nationalizing the Suez Canal to get revenue from the Canal to construct the Aswan High Dam.
- Nasser's desire to fix Egypt's economic problems led to the care crisis in 1956, Egypt's rights to 15% of the net profit from the Suez Canal as rent for the territory was sold away by the British and the French thus millions of pounds flowed to Britain and France without a single penny going into Egypt's treasury. This did not please the people of Egypt forcing them to nationalize the Suez Canal to end economic hemorrhage/plunder. However, this provoked Anglo France attack of Egypt.
- Nasser's Pan Africanist nationalism caused the canal crisis.
- Nasser organized the Fedeyean commandos to carryout raids in Israel in 1954-55 which angered Israel to invade Egypt in 1956. Further Nasser's recognition of Palestine and opposition to the existence of Israel as a state caused the canal crisis.

- "Gamel Abdel Nasser was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the tripartite aggression of Egypt." Discuss (Role of Nasser & Others).

- His domestic reforms which have socialistic in nature
- His recognition of Palestine and opposition of Israel as a state

- Nasser's attendance of the Bandung Conference of 1955
- Nasser's rejection of the free users association
- Nasser's support to the Fedeyean commandos
- Nasser's September 1955 arms deal with communist (CZech Rep)
- Nasser's anti-British influence in the Arab states e.g. Jordan
- Nasser's financial and military support to FLN of Ben Bella
- Nasser's Pan-Africanist Nationalism
- Nasser's opposition to the Baghdad pact of 1955

- Nasser's anti-British rebels support in Cyprus
- His recognition of Mao – tse – Tung communist regime
- Nasser's desire to fix Egypt's economic problems
- Nasser's blockade of the Gulf of Aquaba
- Nationalization of the Suez Canal by Nasser

Other factors

The British violation of the 1936 Anglo – Egyptian treaty which required them to leave Egypt in 1956 after 20 years

- Britain's fear to lose 40% revenue that it was getting from the canal
- The British and the French secret assurance of support to Israel
- Britain and U.S.A's withdraw of millions of dollars loan which had promised to Egypt for the Aswan High Dam Project
- The strategic location of the canal to all parties i.e. France and Britain, Israel and Egypt.
- Israel's desire to expand her imperial ambitions to Africa/desire to spread the Zionist ideology
- Anti – British feelings in Egypt by the Egyptians by 1956/Desire for full independence
- Israel's attack on Egypt's territory i.e. Sinai Peninsula on 29th October 1956

IMPACT OF THE SUEZ CANAL CRISIS

The Suez Canal war was a military conflict between Egypt on the one side against Israel, Britain and France on the other side in 1956.

POSITIVE IMPACT ON EGYPT

Egypt registered a diplomatic victory over the British, French and Israel. The Anglo- French invasion of Egypt evoked strong condemnation from the international opinion expressed from the UN support of Nasser even from their ally of U.S.A.

- Egypt's self rule became more meaningful. The Anglo-French troops were forced to withdraw from Egypt thus complete independence was realized.

- Nasser became a celebrated hero in the Middle East States and Egypt itself. Nasser's portraits were placed on streets many streets, were named after Nasser and Nasser's portraits became a household property.

- Egypt gained full control of the canal. Under international pressure, the Anglo French troops were forced to withdraw leaving the canal in the hands of Egypt. The canal was well managed under Egyptian managers, traffic increased, generated a lot of employment and revenue.

- Egyptian nationalism was strengthened as people united behind Nasser to get rid of foreign rule.

- Nationalization policy was intensified. Nasser was incited to takeover British and French property in Egypt as compensation for Anglo-French subversion [imperialistic tendencies].
- It laid a foundation for the success of the Aswan High Dam Project. It was constructed using Revenue generated from the canal with some support from U.S.R. this made Egypt the first African country to put radical socialist policies into practice**.**
- Socialism was spread in Egypt which implied more aid from the socialist countries e.g. US.S.R, China, Czech Republic.
- There was efficient administration of the canal after the war. This was in the hands of Egyptian engineers.
- It led to the opening of the Gulf of Aquaba which benefited Israel. She regained entrance and exit for her trade and tried to improve the strained relationship.
- It laid a foundation for aid to other nationalists like Ben Bella, (Ahmed) from Nasser and this catapulted the quick self determination from the French in 1962.
- Egyptian diplomatic victory during the canal war inspired nationalism elsewhere e.g. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco [Twin independence in 1956].
- It enabled the U.N to register an achievement. It condemned the Anglo French invasion of Egypt and called for their withdraw by stationing the UN security council to take charge.
- It resulted into the promotion of Pan – Arabism, i.e. creation of the United Arab Republic (Egypt plus (+) Syria) in 1958 [UAR].

- Afro Asian states turned to the East as an ally in fighting colonialism. They solicited for support from the communist bloc e.g. U.S.S.R, China, and Czech Republic etc.
- Inspired political development in Francophone states. In 1958, the fourth Republic of France was overthrown by Charles de Gaulle and immediately organized a referendum for the Africans to decide/determine their political future [De Gaulle referendum that made Sekou Toure to vote for [NO] that deliberately destroyed the French federation .
- The spirit of NAM was strengthened. Nasser was established as one of the defenders and leaders of NAM, convincing African countries to adopt the principles of NAM that emphasized the positive neutrality on the continent and adoption of independent ideology.
- The resignation of the British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and three members of his cabinet led to the freezing of British and French military equipments which were channeled to the liberation movements. Large consignments of arms and ammunitions especially rifles got from the withdrawing Anglo – French forces were sent to African Guerilla fighters.

NEGATIVE IMPACT

- There was massive destruction of life and property for example in the Sinai battle alone 3,000 soldiers were killed and vast quantities of equipment lost to Israel.
- Egypt was forced to withdraw from Sinai and Gaza and was taken over by Israel and even the military post at sharm- As-Shail in Southern Sinai was taken over. However, Israel later withdrew
- Egypt suffered military humiliation; Egyptian soldiers were badly beaten and defeated.
- Refugee crisis in the Canal Zone was witnessed and this led to increased misery and suffering
- There was reduction in revenue to Egypt or traffic was diverted to the cape and this was attributed to the wars that Nasser fought and lowered the morale of investors.
- Increased hostility between Egypt and Israel leading to the 1967 six day war, in which Egypt lost more territories.
- NAM principles were undermined by Nasser's adoption of socialism, principles of neutrality were abandoned and this affected the credibility of African complete independence from the colonial hegemony.

- Led to suffocation of Israel's trade in Africa and the Middle East. This was because she had tampered with Egypt under Nasser who was seen as a focal point/figure of nationalism
- NATO members were divided especially those who blamed Britain and France e.g. U.S.A identified with Nasser and blamed the Anglo – French attack of Egypt and also compelled France to withdraw temporarily from NATO in 1966.
- Led to the Oil crisis in the world which resulted into collapse of world economies and overthrow of many African governments ie between 1960s and 1970s,it also affected regional bodies as Arab countries cut off relations with western allies ie EAC collapsed in 1977.
- Intensified cold war politics in Africa and this partly delayed the attainment of independence of African countries like Portuguese colonies and South Africa.

THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)

The East African Community was formed / established on 6th June 1967 after signing the Arusha treaty by the heads or president Jomo Kenyatta – Kenya, Julius Nyerere – Tanzania and Milton Obote – Uganda.

It was under the guidance of Kjeld Phillips - a United Nations Professor and expert in international relations and the treaty came into effect (operation) on 1st December 1967.

AIMS / OBJECTIVES OF EAC

1. To strengthen political ties between the three countries
2. To promote balanced regional economic development
3. To promote the adoption of a common currency that would ease commercial transactions.
4. To ease the mobility of resources, goods and services and eliminate restrictions.
5. To promote trade among the member states.
6. To expand the market for the goods produced in the region
7. To reduce the duplication of goods and services among the member states.
8. To foster cooperation and unity among the East African states
9. To mobilize financial support from international organizations and fight neo – colonialism.

10. To safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of East African states

ACHIEVEMENTS OF E.A.C

The EAC existed between 1967 and 1977 and within a decade (10 years) it achieved the following:-

- The body established a common market in the region that in turn promoted regional economic development.
- The EAC established common services in the region. Tanzania became the headquarters of the harbors cooperation in Dar –es – Salaam and headquarters of community at Arusha, Uganda the East African Posts and telecommunications and EADB in Kampala, Kenya had the East African Airways and railways in Nairobi hence decentralization promoted.
- The body ensured and promoted regional unity and cooperation among member states. This guaranteed uniform problem solving in East Africa than what existed in the East African federation.
- Diplomatic relations were equally promoted in the region member states occasionally met to address their regional problems.
- The body promoted employment opportunities in the corporations set up like the railway, EADB, East African harbors, the EALA, the EAA that raised the standard of living of the people.
- The EAC harmonized trade and commerce in its initial stages. This was done through the reduction of the trade barriers among the three states.
- The EAC promoted industrialization in the region. These included the circle and plain aluminium sheets, radio assembly and manufactures of motor – vehicle tyres and tubes in Tanzania, Kenya produced bulbs. These generated local revenue and employment provision.
- The body established the East African Development Bank (EADB) that promoted balanced development. The bank extended loans to member states for setting up projects, provided technical assistance and solicited for financial support from international organizations.

- The EAC promoted the easy mobility of East African citizens and goods. The corporations established encouraged people to work freely in the three countries e.g. the Railways, Airways, industries, EAA, the Bank among others.
- The community promoted the spirit of Pan African. The Movement advocated for regional integrity and this was enshrined in EAC and problems were uniformly solved.
- The EAC opened room for the incorporation and inclusion of other states to broaden its market like Malawi, Burundi and Rwanda
- The EAC promoted specialization among member states. This was reflected in the projects set up like the industries of fertilizers in Uganda, Electric bulbs in Kenya Airways in Kenya and even the agriculturally based projects e.g. sisal for Tanzania, pyrethrum in Kenya and coffee in Uganda.
- The EAC linked the three countries to the world economic systems or organizations. These included E.E.C, U.N.O for purposes of comparison and effective implementation and realization of the set objectives.
- The body established infrastructure in the region these included the East African railways, Airlines, roads to promote development as precursors to harness the resources.
- The body also streamlined education in the region that increased the literacy rate. Regional universities were set up e.g. Makerere University in Uganda, Dar – es – Salaam University and Kenyatta University in Kenya. This allowed all people in the region to acquire education in all without restrictions. Also examination boards e.g. EAEC to regulate performance.
- The EAC tried to harmonize the currency exchange in the region and all were using the shillings. The level of exchange was checked in the initial stages that limited the conflicts.
- The body established the East African court of appeal and councils of tribunals. These helped to check on the excesses of the leaders and promote the proper operation of the organization. (pertaining industrial disputes related to staff)
- The body too promoted the setting up of the East African legislative Assembly. This was composed of the chairperson, the general secretary, ministers from the partner states.

- Research was promoted in East Africa through the EAC. This was a branch of the council of tribunals that was in charge of finance, communications, common market and planning and coordinated networks from Arusha.
- The body tried to unify the fiscal policy in East Africa. This was done by the uniform customs duties and regulations between the member states.

FAILURES / WEAKNESSES / CHALLENGES BY 1977

- Failure of the relations among the heads of state e.g. Amin conflicted with Nyerere due to the 1971 coup and Nyerere vowed never to sit with Amin on the same table.
- The EAA- the top body of heads of states failed to meet with the rise of Amin.
- The member states failed to respect the principle of regional economic cooperation and adopted protectionism i.e. not allowing other goods to flow from other countries.
- The member states failed to expand the membership and yet this had been proposed.
- The EAC leadership failed to control the bickering among the heads of states e.g. Amin, Nyerere and Kenyatta.
- Failure to control neo – colonialism
- Failure to ensure even and balanced distribution of the benefits e.g. Kenya was progressing at a faster rate.
- Failure to punish and reprimand members who failed to pay up their subscriptions e.g. Uganda and Tanzania.
- Economic nationalism and duplication of industries e.g. Uganda had to specialize in sugar industry, but Kenya also started, other countries like Uganda and Tanzania began producing tyres and set up plants meant for Kenya, lack of harmony in tax policies by 1974 etc.
- Failure to control corruption in the set up corporations.
- Member states failed to establish a uniform currency. There was nationalization of the currencies and it presented a problem to members in different countries to purchase products due to failure to accept money as legal tenders
- Failure to control individualism and prestige of heads of state regarding appointments. Squabbles came up over appointments and expulsions of Kenyans from Tanzania. This

made projects to break up e.g. in 1976, Airways in each country, all wanted to own a bank, university and railway than sharing.

- Failed to stop misunderstandings over the transport sector. This made Tanzania in 1973 to manage its railway system. Kenya was blamed for developing road transport to weaken railway and Tanzania thought of the Tazara railway.

Questions

1. Assess the achievements of East African Community between 1967 – 1977
2. To what extent did the EAC achieve the objectives of its founders by 1977?
3. How successful was the EAC in fulfilling the objectives of its founders between 1967 – 1977?

Approach

- Brief introduction i.e. year, members involved
- Aims outlined
- Clear stand point
- Achievements Vs failures.

4. To what extent did the economic factors lead to the collapse of the East African Community by 1977?
   - Brief introduction
   - Role of economic factors
   - Other factors
   - Stand point needed.

Points to consider (economic)

- Duplication of industries
- Trade diversion – trading with other countries outside the EAC i.e. Tanzania with USA.
- Trade protectionism or economic nationalism i.e. Tanzania and Uganda levying higher taxes on Kenya goods to protect their infant industries.
- Small membership that narrowed the market and financial obligations to fund projects e.g. EADB
- Consumption of poor quality products, expensively mostly from Kenya.

- Lack of a common and accepted currency. This made life hard for non – citizens in the different countries to make transactions.
- Financial corruption reflected in the set up corporations affected the smooth running of EAC.
- Unequal distribution of the economic benefits among the member states e.g. Kenya developed largely faster than all which angered other parties.
- The economic sabotage and meddling by the multi – national companies hence dumping of cheaper products
- Failure of member states to respect their subscription / obligations that dwindled progress.
- The unfair competition for foreign investors that made Kenya to woe many
- The oil crisis of 1973 – 74 drastically affected the region and world at large.
- Arab oil producing countries cut off supporters of Israel and USA (companies like Shell, Agip, Caltex originate from Britain to which EAC was affiliated and this led to break down of economy and retrenchment.

Other factors include

- The weaknesses of OAU – continental body that would prevail over the bickering
- Border conflicts i.e. Amin around the Kagera region and Kisumu, Tanzania closed border in 1976 to deny Kenya imports
- Ideological differences among the members i.e. Tanzania had adopted socialism that demanded collective ownership of resources i.e. state control etc.

Kenya was mixed, but majorly capitalized.

- Personal rivalry between the heads of state ie Amin Vs Nyerere and Nyerere vowed not to sit with a buffoon, blood stained Amin and EAA not to convene.
- The 1971 coup in Uganda / the rise of Amin to power i.e. no back ground to EAC, refused to pay subscription, expelled the Asians, workers of the community etc.
- Selfish national interests among the member countries and members employed – no interest of the EAC at heart.
- Lack of good will from the citizens / personalization of the EAC by the leaders like Jomo Kenyatta given the level of development, Nyerere did not want to be opposed.

- Political immorality, Amin -Nyerere referred to each other as woman to marry, Nyerere referred to Amin as an illiterate and buffoon and Kenyatta was called a political prostitute hence tearing the EAC.
- Lack of prior experience by the founder members. This was the 1st regional organization and leaders did not have any experience of running such a bigger project.
- Language barrier - Kenya and Tanzania felt comfortable with Kiswahili which disadvantaged Uganda.

Question

1. "The 1971 coup in Uganda was primarily responsible for the collapse of the EAC in 1977". Discuss
2. "Amin Idi Dada made the collapse of the EAC in 1977 inevitable". Discuss
   - Brief introduction
   - Role of Amin / Coup of 1971
   - Other factors
   - Clear stand point

Points to consider

- Amin overthrew Obote who was a founder member of EAC
- Accelerated misunderstandings between members e.g. between Uganda Vs Kenya Kisumu area, Uganda – Tanzania over Kagera area.
- The economic war of 1972 led to loss of revenue and industrial experts
- Amin dismissed / expelled Tanzania workers over 45,000 people and Iddi simba a senior worker in EAA and major department of EAC
- Amin promoted trade mal – practices like smuggling that led to tax evasion
- Dictatorship of Amin / Mal – administration affected the activities of EAC
- Amin contributed to the collapse of the economy not to pay the subscription obligations
- Amin accelerated corruption which dwindled the operation of EAC
- The coming to power by Amin sabotaged the communications which hindered the operations of EAC.
- Amin promoted political instability in Uganda and in the region

- Amin perpetuated neo – colonialism in that negatively affected EAC.

Others

- Ideological differences i.e. Uganda and Kenya capitalists Vs Tanzania which was socialist
- Personalization of community decisions e.g. Tanzania under Nyerere
- No prior knowledge and experience by the members.
- Limited membership or narrow market
- Failure to involve members in the operations from all countries
- Duplication of industries and services by Kenya.
- Trade diversion
- Unbalanced benefits
- Completion of the Tazara railway
- Financial hardships or lack of adequate funds due to limited reserves in EADB
- Economic nationalism or protectionism
- Weaknesses of OAU
- International interference e.g. European Economic community
- Language barrier
- Lack of a regionally accepted currency that limited transactions etc.

Question

Restoration of Ethiopian independence from Italy in 1941

- Ethiopia had lost its independence in 1936 when Italy occupied it after defeating the monarchy that forced Emperor Haile Selassie to exile

Factors include

- The formation of the black lions movement
- The application of the guerilla tactics against the Italians
- The brutality imposed on Ethiopians by Italians increased anger e.g. the 1937 Graziani Massacres, execution of Bishop Petros in 1938 etc
- The determination of the Ethiopians to get rid of Italians
- The able leadership provided by RAS Imru

- Role of the Orthodox church that was patriotic vehemently opposed Italians
- Tactical escape of Emperor Haille Sellassie to exile in England turned out to be a blessing in disguise.
- Italy's blunder of joining world war II on the side of Germany annoyed Britain
- Massive assistance rendered to Ethiopia from fellow African countries e.g. Nigeria, Sierra – Leone, Ghana, Kenya
- The role of the Rastafarian movement
- Assistance from the gallant veterans of Adowa battle e.g. Ras Mulugeta, Zerai Deress etc
- The role of the WASU from West Africa that was violent against imperialism in Africa.
- The home geographical advantage enjoyed by Ethiopians i.e. mountains were unfamiliar to Italians
- Numerical strength of the Ethiopians compared to the Italians
- Hostile press attacks against Italian rule in Ethiopia world wide
- The wide spread black demonstrations against Italian rule in Ethiopia
- The strong sense of unity and patriotism displayed by Ethiopians against Italians after the 1935 invasion
- Role of various anti – colonial movements e.g. the IASB, IAFE, Abyssinian association, Pan African Federation (PAF)
- Commitment of the educated (Elites) and the blacks in the diaspora to the cause of Ethiopia e.g. Ras Makonen from Guyana, George Padmore from Trinidad and Tobaggo.
- Support from Britain and France against Italy (Br through Sudan and Kenya)

The international sympathy extended to Ethiopia when the emperor selassie fled to exile

THE CONCEPT OF NON – ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)

The non – aligned movement was founded during the collapse of the colonial systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world.

It emerged at the height of cold war politics that had established military blocks of NATO (1949) and Warsaw pact of 1955 for the capitalists and communists respectively.

The NAM idea was conceived in 1955 at Bandung conference organized by the Indonesian president Surkano, Jawaharlal Nehru the premier of India and Gamel Nasser the president of Egypt.

The concept of NAM at Bandung was composed of a delegation of 29 members from India, Indonesia, China, Egypt, Algeria, and Ghana among others. It became official in 1961 at the Belgrade summit in Yugoslavia with Joseph Broz Tito as it first general secretary.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF NAM

Reference question

1. Account for the adoption of the non – alignment policy by independent African states (UNEB 2006)
2. Why was the non – aligned movement (NAM) formed in 1955? (UNEB 2011)

The aims of non – aligned movement included the following:

1. To maintain world peace by promoting non – violent means and reject the use of force.
2. To support self determination and national independence in the 3rd world, reject all forms of imperialism.
3. To safeguard the sovereignty of the member states against the domination by the upper powers i.e. encouraging the independence of the non – aligned nations from cold war politics.
4. To discourage military alliances and push for the disarmament of the superpowers to decelerate world conflicts.
5. To promote economic independence of the member states.
6. The desire to encourage active participation of non – aligned states 3rd world in the international affairs especially in the UN without coercion i.e. domination of the great powers of NATO.

7. To strengthen the UNO towards effective performance in its endeavors of decolonization and peace preservation globally.
8. To enhance socio – economic development and restructuring of international economic systems.
9. To promote the south - south cooperation i.e. the cooperation among the 3rd world nations with mutual understanding and tolerance.
10. To ensure the peaceful co – existence among all nations of the world i.e. democratize international relations.
11. The desire to reject all forms of racial discrimination like apartheid and Zionism (Israel related movement)
12. To encourage the respect for human rights as contained in the universal declaration of human rights charter of UN adopted in 1948.
13. To ensure the peaceful resolution of disputes in the world without resorting to wars that had shattered world economies.
14. To oppose and castigate in union the stationing of military bases in the foreign countries. This had been done by the members of NATO having satellites in African countries (information gathering gadgets).

SUCCESSES / ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAM

1. The non – aligned movement has had a long period of existence since 1961 as inaugural year. The movement has been in existence for over 55 years and this is attributed to the numerous conferences held i.e. from Belgrade, the attendance to the UN general assemblies hence consolidating its stay.
2. The movement has expanded its membership by attracting many developing countries. This was attained after the attainment of independence by many African and Asian countries from 29 members to over 100 countries. The last members to join included FIJI from Oceania and Azerbaijan of Asia in 2011 respectively.
3. The NAM greatly contributed to the world peace and stability. The movement contained the cold war politics that had threatened world peace. It condemned the arms race by the super powers through supporting the strategic Arms limitation talks (SALT) and strategic Arms reduction talks (START). These castigated the production of nuclear weapons that reduced militarization by creating peace.

4. The NAM greatly led to the collapse of cold war politics or super powers. The member states continued with the policy of neutrality and castigated the arms race of the super powers. The members of NAM used the platform of the UN to isolate the ideological wars of USA and USSR, the NAM also led to the collapse of the Berlin wall and re – unified Germany leading to peace.
5. The NAM advocated for the reformation of the United Nations hence making it more effective. NAM openly criticized and structures of the UN – structure and power dynamics. The security council of the United Nations was highly criticized of being undemocratic and asked the UN to reshape its structures to promote international democracy.
6. NAM contributed for the respect of small states in the world. The weight of small states was increased not to be dominated by the super powers. This completed USA to work with the NAM member countries to fight terrorism in the world and kept peace in Yugoslavia, Somalia etc.
7. Non – alignment has promoted unity and cooperation among member states. This ensured the south – south cooperation of the 3rd world nations. This ensured a united front of member states to have a stronger voice in the UN – general assembly to reduce the dominance of the super powers.
8. NAM was instrumental in the promotion of Afro – Asian solidarity. The mutual cooperation between Africans and Asians became official at the Bandung conference. The idea of solidarity was further propagated to the subsequent conferences like the Belgrade of 1961 and 1979 Lusaka conference.
9. The non – alignment policy promoted economic relations among states. The NAM nations have extended financial and technical assistance to member states. The NAM powers like India, Indonesia, UAE, Saudi Arabia provided funds and technical expertise to the projects in weaker states e.g. Angola, Uganda and Tanzania. The movement boosted confidence among the weaker states to distance themselves from the super powers.
10. The NAM led to the establishment of the south – south commission in 1988. The commission was formed to address the economic backwardness of the weaker nations of

the world. NAM collaborated with other organizations like the group of 1977 to promote dialogue and cooperation among the 3rd world.

11. The non – alignment condemned imperialism and encouraged friendly relations of all nations. The movement has greatly condemned imperialist attacks, acts of aggression and other injustices of the big states against the small states. The NAM condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1981 and also condemned the unhealthy and senseless assassination of Muammar Gadhafi in 2011.
12. The NAM contributed to the development of African nationalism. The members of NAM used the platform of UN to voice out anti – colonial sentiments against imperialism. It demanded the intervention of the UN to impose sanctions of colonial masters, made Africans to become recommitted to independence.
13. Non – alignment condemned racial discrimination and dominance in the world. The spirit of the movement fought the racist apartheid policy in South Africa and the UDI government of southern Rhodesia. Member states extended military and financial support to the blacks to fight the whites. The movement also pressurized the UN to intervene in the Palestinian question against Zionist Israel.
14. NAM has attempted to intervene in the conflict among member states. It condemned the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and mediated in the Pakistan conflict. The members tried to arbitrate in the Sudan conflict that ended the conflict that started tin 1955. This finally led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.
15. The non – aligned nations have tried to promote the respect of human rights. This has been done in line with the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) of the UN that advocated for equality of people. The policy also condemned the aggression of the powerful nations and promoted justice and respect and cultural diversity. (Cross – cultural management)
16. Members of the non – aligned movement have continuously emphasized democracy and establishment of peoples' governments. It condemned dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin in Uganda, Saddam regime in Iraq among others. The moment calls for the peaceful handover of power through constitutional and democratic means. The NAM nations have collectively stood against coups and unlawful takeover of governments.

17. The NAM members have exercised freedom of action while dealing with great powers. This was exhibited by Libya against NATO invasion in 2011. Egypt exercised the same and nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This was done after USA and UK withdrew the economic aid to enable Nasser to complete the Aswan project.

WEAKNESSES / FAILURES OF NAM

1. The movement has failed to solve interstate conflicts among the non – aligned nations. Conflicts and misunderstandings have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and Kuwait, Uganda and Sudan, the Congo question which caused tension between Uganda, the Kabila government and Rwanda.
2. The NAM failed in its attempt to maintain political stability and security of its member states. Many military coups and civil wars have existed in African states like Congo, Uganda, Sudan, CAR, Asian countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Afghanistan. This affected peace in these nations rendering the movement ineffective.
3. Nam has failed to develop into a body that can threaten the world power blocks. The eastern an western blocs have continued to exist even after the cold war politics leading to a new trend of imperialism. It is true the NAM is a big organization of next to UN, but it has been undermined by the power blocks and it has remained inferior in international conventions.
4. The NAM failed to uphold the principle of "Positive neutrality". The member states have ended up identifying with foreign ideologies of capitalism and communism. This has perpetuated neo – colonialism undermining the independence of the states.
5. The NAM has failed to prevent ideological conflicts among the member states, conflicts have occurred among members. The bigger nations have undermined the proceedings forwarded by non – aligned members for the weaker states. This has affected the process of finding a common approach to the problems of the world and hindering solidarity.
6. The movement has failed in its endeavors to improve on the living conditions of the people of its member states. Majority of the non – aligned member states have been increasingly affected by the high levels of ignorance, disease, poverty, starvation and other socio - economic problems.
7. NAM has failed to stop the intervention of western international NGOs. This has opened gates to increased domination and exploitation of the non – aligned states. The poorest

nations of the world according to the UNDP and HDI that reflect poverty index are members of NAM.

8. The movement has failed to check on personal conflicts among the heads of states. The evidence was in 1969, fidel Castrol of Cuba organized the Havana conference of NAM and was ignored by other member states. Conflicts existed between the Sultan Hassan of Morocco and Ben Ali of Tunisia, Joseph Kabila of DR. Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda among others.
9. The NAM has failed to condemn militarization of the great powers in the non – aligned countries. The major world powers have since 1990s acted aggressively on NAM nations e.g. France tested its nuclear bomb in the Sahara, US bombardment of Benghezi in Libya in the 1980s, NAM members only verbally condemned without practical solutions. Also this militarism was extended in Libya in 2011 by the NATO – explosions that saw the death of Gadhafi.
10. Non aligned members have failed to prevent the influence of western cultures. The native cultural heritage has been eroded by western imperialism leading to dubious western acts like homosexuality and gay – marriage, money has been poured in NAM countries to promote such acts due to economic desperateness.
11. Some member states of NAM have allowed the bigger powers to establish military bases in their territories. These include Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, CAR, Iraq among others. This has undermined the sovereign integrity that the movement desired to promote.
12. Non – aligned states have become breeding grounds for the terrorist activities in the world hence a failure. Terrorism has been harbored, organised and unleashed using the aligned states like Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Osama Bin Laden - the leader of the Al – Qaeda was assassinated in Pakistan which is a strong supporter of NAM. (This followed the September 2011 attack on USA of the trade centre.

PROBLEMS OR CHALLENGES OF NAM

1. Persistent poverty and economic backwardness
2. Ideological differences creating mistrust among members
3. Neo colonialism
4. Political instabilities hindering progress
5. The end of cold war that left the movement with no enemy to fight.

6. Lack of a proper definition of NAM – Surkano looked at it as containing cold war Vs Nyerere for self determination of weaker nations, variance affected decisions.
7. Foreign supervision and patronage by great powers i.e. Cuba used USSR, Kenya with USA.
8. NAM states are affiliated to other groups or organizations e.g. OAU, AU, OPEC, regional bodies ECOWAS, Arab league, this create conflicting loyalty.
9. The persistent interstate conflicts create disunity and disharmony
10. The death of core members like Nkrumah, Nehru and leaving active politics, Nasser died in 1970. The new generation leaders lack initial vision
11. Other member states are either driven by personal or national interests e.g. Nasser joined to promote Pan Arabism,Yugoslavia joined to reduce the cold war tension and promote country security etc.
12. Wide operation area of NAM. The members of the South included Asian, African, South America and parts of North America i.e. the Caribbean / West Indies.

THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN 1955 – 2005

Sudan was a victim of the joint colonialism of Egypt and Britain from 1899 under the condominium Agreement or administration. It should however be noted that Egypt withdrew from this arrangement and Britain continued to govern Sudan until 1956 when independence was granted on 1st January 1956.

During the joint administration, Egypt took control of the North and Britain indirectly ruled the sough hence the division of Sudan into two separate regions of Arab North and the Negro – South and this occasioned the conflict between the North -South Conflict.

The civil war in Sudan began in 1955 and was in numerous phases like Anyanya I, Anyanya II spearheaded by Joseph Lagu and Dr. John Garang under the SPLA / M against the Khartoum government dominated by the Arab Muslims.

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR IN SUDAN

1. The British policy of divide and rule politics in Sudan led to the civil war. This policy implemented by Britain was aimed at separating the North from the South. The North

had well developed infrastructure like roads, schools and hospitals and the joint parliament was in the North, the British discouraged marriages between the southerners and northerners. All these injustices were not checked by the British hence provoking the southerners to rebel hence the civil war.

2. The negative effects of the Anglo – Egyptian administration in Sudan occasioned the civil war. The two colonial masters pursued different policies in Sudan i.e. Egypt controlled the Muslim north while the British controlled the Christian south. The Egyptians controlled or applied direct rule and the British applied indirect rule and these different policies brought disunity creating a situation of rebellion among the southerners.

3. Cultural superiority also led to the outbreak by the Sudan civil war. This superiority was established by the colonial masters that made the northerners to be regarded as first citizens of the country, the southerners were second class citizens, left illiterate, considered inferior, despised as former slaves and infidels. This compelled the southerners to rebel against the northern administration in Sudan.

4. The weaknesses of the colonial constitution contributed to the civil war in Sudan. The constitution was biased and discriminated the southern by denying them equal opportunities in politics e.g. 46 seats, in parliament were given to the northerners and three seats to the southerners. In 1955, the southerners requested for a federal government that was rejected by the constitution hence the rebellion of the southerners.

5. Racism that was promoted by the British in Sudan also caused the Sudan civil war. The north was occupied by Muslim Arabs who were the majority amounting to 11 million compared to the black southerners of 4 million. These two groups had different religions, culture and physical appearance in color. The Arabs were superior

compared to the blacks and this arrogance was promoted by the British leading to the outbreak of the Sudan civil war.

6. The religious differences between the North and the South occasioned the civil war in Sudan. The issue of religious was a colonial legacy that brought Christian missionaries into southern part of Sudan, they taught the southerners to hate the Muslims of the North, applied the divide and rule policy.
   The Arabs in the north were interested in Islamizing the whole of Sudan and establishing Sharia law. This was rejected by the southerners as the Islamic principles conflicted with the Christian faith and rejected the Islamic names leading to the civil war.

7. Unequal economic development between the north and south led to the civil war in Sudan. The colonial masters made the northerners to develop at the expense of the southerners. Developed infrastructure like schools, hospitals and railways were erected in north. Most lucrative jobs were dominated by the northerners,the southerners were unemployed and paid all sorts of taxes hence the war was because of economic development in Sudan.

8. Inadequate preparations for independence in Sudan led to the outbreak of the civil war. The colonial masters never laid a smooth transfer of power and the constitution had double standards. The British encouraged the Arab north to form political parties like the UMA and the National Unionist Party yet the southerners did not have any party. The British recruited **6** civil servants from the south and **194** northerners and this even led to army mutiny in 1955. Therefore, failure of Britain to address the irregularities by independence time in 1956 created discontent leading to the civil war.

9. The Arabization policy implemented by the Arab north occasioned the civil war in Sudan. Arabic was made to be the official language even in the south yet the

southerners preferred English. This language policy made the northerners to take top jobs in the south as the requirement was being fluent in Arabic hence denying the southerners employment.

Also joining a public university in Sudan one had to speak Arabic fluently and this caused resentment leading to the civil war in Sudan.

10. The existence of power struggle contributed to the civil war in Sudan. It is true that Sudan experienced phases of the civil wars like Anyanya I and II under Joseph Lagu struggling to lead the southerners and in 1983, Dr. John Garang formed the SPLA to get total independence of the south Sudan. This unquenchable thirst for power by the different nationalists was responsible for the Sudan civil war.

11. The influence of slave trade and slavery also occasioned the Sudan civil war. It ought to be remembered that during the 19th century, many southerners such as the Dinka, Azande and Shiluk were taken as slaves by the Arabs. The northerners despised the southerners and regarded them as inferiors reduced to tradable products. This created discontent which eventually led to the war.

12. The high ended corruption by northern officials led to the outbreak of the Sudan civil war. The northern officials often misappropriated and embezzled the funds or resources meant to develop the south. They took bribes and mishandled the government revenue which created a fertile ground for the southerners to get into war to end the corrupt tendencies of the north.

13. The discovery of oil in southern Sudan also led to the civil war. The northern government i.e. Khartoum in Sudan wanted to control the resources of the country at the expense of the southerners and yet the southerners were not ready to let their lucrative oil to be lost to the north. This competition of the oil resources brought rivalry and conflicts leading to war between the north and the south.

14. The dictatorial policies of the Khartoum government i.e. the regime of general Abboud 1958 – 1964, general Jaafar Nimeiri up to 1983, Omar – El – Bashir from 1985. These leaders were dictatorial and never preferred peaceful conflict resolution, but opted for military confrontation e.g. Hassan – EL – Bashir in 1987 applied military approaches and killed many southerners in riots with a lot of brutality. This nature of dictators compelled the southerners to fight for their independence hence civil war.

15. The emergency of Islamic fundamentalism in Sudan was responsible for the long civil war. Sudan became a centre of Muslim fundamentalists from Palestine and other parts of the Muslim world. The fundamentalists aimed at fighting the Christian infidels (pegans) in the south and desired to spread Islam forcefully (Jihad). This created unprincipled conflict between the Arab north and Christians in the south and led to the expulsion of Christian missionaries from the south, southerners were forced to abandon Christian names and adopt Arabic culture during the regime of general Abboud.

16. Ideological differences caused by the cold war politics accelerated the Sudan Civil War. USA, Israel and Britain supported the southerners in order to spread capitalism that had failed in the north that got support from the USSR and socialist Egypt under Nasser. This cold war politics kept Sudan on fire of conflicts due to ideological differences.

17. The personal ambitions of Dr. John Garang made the civil war inevitable in Sudan. Garang formed the the SPLA/M in 1983 with an aim of leading Sudan and this made him to converse for / solicit for support from Britain, USA and Uganda from President Museveni with whom they attended University education at Dar-es-salaam. Garang fought up to 2005 when a comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) was signed in Nairobi to get semi autonomous authority.

SUMMARY OF THE CAUSES OF THE SUDAN CIVIL WAR 1955 – 2005

- Racial differences between south(blacks) on northerners i.e. Arabs.
- British policy of divide and rule
- Unequal representation of the southerners in parliament.
- Failure to grant federal government in southern provinces
- Unequal economic development between north and south
- Religious intolerance
- Cultural superiority
- Slave trade legacy
- Unequal share of pre – independence benefits
- Coming to power of general Abboud 1958 – 1964 (Arabisation policy)
- Determination of the south to get independence
- Rise to power of mohammad Ahmed in 1965.
- Character of Jaafari Nimeiri
- Formation of Anyanya / SPLA
- Greed for power or personal ambitions of Garanga
- Dictatorship of Khartoum government
- Discovery of oil in the south
- Impact of Islamic fundamentalism
- Cold war politics
- Corruption etc

Questions

1. Account for the secessionist attitude in South Sudan since independence.
2. Explain the causes of the Sudan Civil War by 1955.
3. To what extent was the Sudan civil war a result of British colonial legacy?
4. "Internal factors were primarily responsible for the outbreak of the Sudan Civil War" Discuss.

EFFECT OF THE SUDAN CIVIL WAR

1. The war claimed the lives of many Sudanese especially in the south. These ranged from women, children and older men and some people died of starvation and others died in the cross fire fighting between rebels and the Khartoum government forces.

2. The war caused massive destruction of property especially in the south as houses and serious settlements were burnt down, crops and fields grossly destroyed. This was intended to deny the rebels a source of survival including other vital installations like schools and hospitals leading to general decline in the standard of living.

3. The civil war intensified the cold war politics and promoted neo – colonialism in Sudan. Foreign powers such as Russia, Israel, Egypt and Britain interfered in the affairs of Sudan and also heightened the conflict of the south and north.

4. The war worsened the refugee crisis in the neighboring countries of Kenya, Uganda, Egypt, and Ethiopia among others. This strained the budget of international bodies of UNHCR.

5. The war led to the outbreak of famine and other uncalled for epidemics in Sudan. There was acute shortage of food which caused mal – nutrition among the children. Famine was also due to the disruption of farm activities as the people could not concentrate during the war amid the government burning down the fields.

6. The war militarized the politics of Sudan as the Khartoum government embarked on buying military weapons. The national budget of Khartoum allocated a larger percentage to military hardware that narrowed the provision of social services meant for the people of Sudan.

7. The civil war attracted the attention of OAU and UNO that intervened to the extent of ending the long conflict in the region. These regional and international bodies tried to

monitor the humanitarian situation in Sudan by having peace talks with the leaders to avoid the massive loss of life.

8. The war led to the successful secession of south Sudan from Sudan in July 2011. This was followed by the signing of the comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) between the SPLA / M and the Khartoum government under Omar Hassan Bashir signed in 2005 (semi – autonomous leadership).

9. There was economic retardation and social decline in southern Sudan i.e. south Sudan. The infrastructure to date is very poor, medical services remained dilapidated; education was at its lowest leading to low standard of living of the masses.

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE IN BRITISH WEST AFRICA

NATIONALISM IN GHANA

The Ghanaian nationalism or revolution refers to the tremendous changes registered by the nationals in gold coast in the struggle for independence. Ghana was a British colony and she was the 1st African country south of the Sahara to achieve independence on 6th, March, 1957.

Nkrumah chose the name Ghana in memory of the ancient empire of Ghana. Political parties were formed early such as united gold coast convention (UGCC) formed in 1947.

Convention people's party (CPP) in 1949 among others

Sample questions

1. Account for the early independence of Ghana
2. Examine the factors that facilitated the independence of Ghana
3. Discuss the factors for the rise of nationalism in the gold coast.

The factors for Ghana's early independence include the following:-

1. The influence of the historical traditional resistances in gold coast led to the independence struggle. Following the British rule, the masses in gold coast staged resistances against the poll tax, the Fante also pushed for the independence , Asante people also resisted the British not to take away their traditional stool (Golden). All these inspired nationalistic sentiments laying grounds for independence.
2. The homogenous nature of the gold coast promoted national unity and promoted independence. The people had common history and culture, they were proud of their origin and the majority i.e. 60% was Akan speakers who had positive influence on other tribes like Ga, Ewe, Kwamu. This created a strong sense of nationalism due to absence of ethnic differences.
3. Gold coast had a progressive and developed economic infrastructure. The road and railway systems were well developed, the harbors were also modern. The roads included the Accra – Tema road, the Kumasi railway. These were built by the British to exploit resources, but the nationals used the roads to mobilize the masses for independence struggle.
4. The relative economic status of gold coast contributed to the early independence. The country enjoyed high income per capita from cocoa production that made Ghana the leading producer in the world. Also palm oil, timber, mining of gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite. This gave the nationals economic power to finance the struggle for independence.
5. The wide spread western education in the gold coast led to early independence. The country registered a large number of elites by 1946 such as lawyers, teachers, journalists and business people. They included Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. J.B Danquah, and William Ofori Attu among others. These were paid less compared to the whites and it generated anger that made them to condemn colonialism.
6. The formation and role of political parties contributed to the struggle of independence. These parties included UGCC and CPP formed in 1947 and 1949 respectively. The parties were dominated by rich middle class who financed party activities, Nkrumah under CPP promoted political awareness by opening up party branches in the country side. This sped up the rate of independence.

7. The impact of the 1948 riots in gold coast laid a firm ground for independence. The riots were staged by the ex – servicemen of World War II in Accra to present a list of grievances. The British police fired at the crowd and killed people, arrested other nationalists like Nkrumah, Danquah, Akuffo Ado etc. The arrest hardened the anti colonial sentiments leading to independence.
8. The impact of World War II was equally responsible for the independence struggle. Gold coast had about 50,000 ex – service men who had returned home by 1946. The ex – servicemen had been frustrated by the retrenchment and unfulfilled promises. These had witnessed the independence of India in1947 and got military and democratic principles to weaken British policies leading to Independence.
9. The influence of the swollen shoot disease in gold coast aroused nationalism in Ghana. The disease attacked and destroyed cocoa trees at an alarming rate, but the colonial government ordered the cutting of cocoa trees without compensation. The Ghanaians interpreted this as a deliberate move to weaken over 65% of the peasants. This created a revolutionary mood for independence.
10. The small and manageable population of Ghana explains its early independence. Ghana is a very small country and its population was very small, compact and controllable. By 1930s, it had 5 million people and it was very easy to mobilize and organize for a national cause which sped up the rate of nationalism and independence in 1957.
11. The role of governor Burns also made Ghana attain her early independence. Burns as the governor of Ghana was very understanding, sympathetic, empathetic, cooperative and accommodative. He introduced constitutional changes in 1944 / 1946 that allowed African representation in LEGCO and in 1946, the labor government in Britain ordered him to increase African representation in LEGCO. These changes reduced the colonial oppression and gave the people of more bargaining power of forge for self rule in 1957.
12. The positive role of Sir Arden clerk also helped Ghana to attain her independence. Arden became the governor of Ghana after the 1948 riots to bring peace in the country. He ordered for the release of Nkrumah from prison and worked closely with

him, Nkrumah was made the leader of government business (prime minister) in 1954 and this accelerated the rate of independence in Ghana.

13. The attainment of independence in Asia accelerated similar developments in Ghana. Several Asian states were decolonized at the end of World War II e.g. India and Pakistan in 1947, Indonesia and China. India extended moral and financial support to the African continent and inspired the leading nationalists like Nkrumah and J.B Danquah. The nationalists also adopted Gandhi's positive strategy, peaceful demonstrations were staged by Nkrumah and this was a great boost in arousing self rule.

14. Gold coast had a strong network of the press and mass media and this accelerated nationalism. A series of instruments of communication like the gold coast independence news (1945), Accra evening news (1948). The morning telegraph and daily mail in 1949. These made political publications like

    "Towards colonial freedom"

    "Neo – colonialism, the last stage of colonialism"

    These were read by elites and the evils of colonialism were exposed hence early independence.

15. The influence of the Manchester conference of 1945 contributed to Ghana's early independence. The conference was organized in the Diaspora, but was attended by very many African nationalists including Nkrumah as a co – secretary. The conference demanded for positive action against colonial rule, made Nkrumah to be exposed to international focused leadership skills. He became a true democrat and his ideology was shaped to form the CPP party with slogans like:

    "Independence now"

    "Forward ever"

    "Backward never"

16. The positive impact of UNO in 1945 accelerated the independence of Ghana. In 1956, the UN intervened and organized a referendum which saw the **ewe** tribe in Togo joining Ghana and this boosted the unity, added pressure and reinforced political parties to demand for self rule in Ghana.

17. The charismatic leadership of Nkrumah led to early independence of Ghana. Nkrumah had exceptional skills, very visionary, had organizational ability, handsome, eloquent and an orator. He returned from abroad in 1947 and became a powerful factor in demanding for self rule, he accepted leadership in UGCC, he won the support of workers, the unemployed and became the Leninist kaizer of Africa to dismantle colonial rule in Africa.
18. The impact of the national congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) led to the struggle for independence. The congress was founded in 1920 by a leading Ghanaian patriot Jospeh Hayford. The aim of the congress was to decolonize the west African countries of Gambia, gold coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone etc. It demanded for equal representation of Africans in the LEGCO, stopped the whites to select traditional rulers, separate power of judiciary from the political power of the governor. The congress set up papers called the "African morning post" that published anti – colonial articles. These weakened the colonial arm of Britain by 1957.
19. The impact of the Mau – Mau uprising in Kenya (1952 – 55) threatened Britain to initiate reforms. The labor party in London learnt lessons from the Kenyan nationalism and devised means of granting political rights to Africans on the continent. The British government in London conditioned governor Arden – Clarke to bring changes in Ghana to prevent the violent scenario similar to that of Kenya and increased cooperation with Nkrumah, reforms were made` to allow political party activities.

THE ROLE / CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES TOWARDS INDEPENDECE STRUGGLE IN GOLD COAST

THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION (UGCC)

The UGCC was formed in 1947 in August by a group of people like Sekondi – a prominent business man in Central province, George Grant,

Dr. Joseph B. Danquah, Ernest Adjei, Edward Akufo Addo among others.

UGCC played the following roles:

1. UGCC was the first modern political party to be formed and its leadership advocated for constitutional reforms. These led to the attainment of self rule in Gold coast.
2. UGCC provided charismatic leadership under Kwame Nkrumah as a full time general secretary in November 1947. He used his organizational and oratory power to attract the youths, civil servants and this increased the pressure against Britain.
3. UGCC took part in the 1948 Feb riots which were a turning point in the independence struggle. These riots saw many nationalists arrested because of boycotting British and Syrian goods. The killing of the leaders and arrest weakened the colonial rule.
4. The UGCC leadership intensified violence on the British rule due to the harsh action of governor Gerald creasy. The Big six including Nkrumah, Danquah and others made the colonial government to lose popularity.
5. UGCC condemned and rejected the constitutional reforms of 1951. The constitution had loop holes of having many traditional chiefs as representatives in parliament. The nationalists opposed the chiefs as they were collaborators.
6. The party adopted effective use of the press to mobilize and sensitize the masses. The UGCC used the "Accra Evening News" established in 1948 to condemn the colonial atrocities of the British.
7. UGCC influenced the establishment of a revised constitution in 1954 under Sir Arden Clarke. This provided for the national assembly with representatives voted by majority Ghanaians hence increasing demand for independence.
8. The party under the dynamic rule of Kwame Nkrumah established many party branches throughout the country. It became a mass party and brought together all people.
9. The UGCC identified with the problems of the masses that included the scarcity of imported goods, inflation and swollen shoot disease of cocoa. This move increased the popularity of the party to defeat colonialism.
10. UGCC acted as a mouth piece of the people of gold coast. It complained and condemned the oppressive policies of the British. It also demanded for immediate independence.

11. The UGCC participated in the pre – independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. These elections increased African membership in the LEGCO and this laid a plat form for independence demands.

THE ROLES OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY (CPP)

The party was formed on 12th June 1949 after Nkrumah stepping down as secretary general of UGCC due to ideological differences. Other members of CPP included K.A Gbedemah, Kwamena welback and Kojo Botsio.

The following are the roles of CPP;

1. The CPP adopted radical slogans such as "self – government now" and "seek your first political independence and other things shall be added later" these energized the nationals for independence struggle.
2. The CPP intensively mobilized the natives against the British colonialism. The party tried to expose the evils of colonialism that made Ghana get independence in 1957.
3. The CPP provided a frame work for consolidated unity. It discouraged the ethnic differences. The party opened gates for citizens including the youth hence boosting independence.
4. The CPP established a newspaper called Accra evening news to spread anti colonial propaganda. The articles written captured the emotions of ordinary people hence opposing the British.
5. The CPP rejected the constitutional changes proposed coursey of 1949 as being fake. This also made many Ghanaians to oppose the 1951 constitution that failed to eliminate traditional chiefs used by the British.
6. The CPP used Gandhism and positive action against the British colonialism. It took part in the wide spread strikes and riots e.g. in 1950, the British schools, shops were boycotted, cut the cocoa plantations of the British hence reforms were affected.

7. CPP employed constitutional means of demanding for independence. The party demanded for reforms and this increased African reproduction in the LEGCO and in 1954, CPP had 79 out of 104 seats.
8. CPP participated in pre – independence elections of 1951, 1954 and 1956. In 1951, CPP won 34 out of 38 seats in parliament and 1956, 71 out of 104 to form the first independent government for gold coast.
9. The party defeated favoritism and Regionalism. All tribes and other political parties such as the national liberal movement of the Asante cooperated leading to independence.
10. CPP opened up branches of the party across the country. The party sounded much in the same way in rural areas as in urban centres e.g. in Accra, Tema, Kumasi hence a broad based party.
11. CPP expanded the civil service and the senior posts were Africanized. This made a big number of people to ably prepare for Ghana's independence.
12. CPP painted their vehicles with party colors and this inspired the local people in Ghana with nationalistic sentiments, commitment to attain independence in 1957.
13. CPP organized political values and composed slogans singing Nkrumah's names and titles i.e. "a man of destiny", "deliverer of Ghana", "leader of street boys". All these inspired people to work for independence.
14. CPP scrapped off the 10 years development plan of the colonial government proposed in 1946 and reduced it to 5 years. This boosted the economic stand of Ghana hence quickening independence in 1957.
15. CPP changed the name gold coast to Ghana at independence in memory of the strong ancient Ghana Empire. This was a symbol of African personality that brought identity.
16. CPP led Gold coast to independence on 6th march 1957 with Nkrumah as prime minister and later president. This led to the formation of the black Africans government.

KWAME NKRUMAH

Nkrumah was born on September 21st 1909 in the southern region of gold coast and his father was Mr. Mwayi Kofi Francis. He was a teacher by profession but later became a lawyer while in the US after acquiring a master's degree.

NKRUMAH'S ROLE

Nkrumah returned to gold coast in 1947 after spending 12 years in the diaspora. He embarked on political mobilization in the UGCC party where he was a secretary general.

Question

1. Examine the role of Kwame Nkrumah in the attainment of independence in Ghana.
2. To what extent was Nkrumah responsible for the decolonization of Ghana?

The following are the roles of Nkrumah:

1. Nkrumah accepted the leadership in UGCC as secretary general in gold coast in 1947. He used the position to popularize the need for independence, opened up party branches in various districts.
2. He made effective use of the press to spread anti – colonial propaganda in the country, he set up the Accra evening news and the cape coast daily mail written in local languages understood by the people. The press used the slogan "independence now".
3. Nkrumah worked with the trade unions of teachers and railway employees to advocate for better conditions. He used these professionals to make them employ positive action like strikes and demonstrations against the unfair policies of the British.
4. Nkrumah formed a committee of the youth after 1948 riots and this increased the youth membership to demand for independence. He also used the school leavers desperately looking for jobs to oppose the government for its unfair policies, the youth regarded Nkrumah as "Osagyefo" the redeemer.

5. Nkrumah condemned the British colonialism and sensitized the masses against the British policies. He made countrywide tours, had rallies and lectures which united the masses for independence.
6. The arrest and imprisonment of Nkrumah by the colonial government boosted his radical campaign. He was arrested in 1948 with other members of "Big six" and in 1950 for inciting workers. This turned Nkrumah into a hero and made him win 1951 elections.
7. Nkrumah formed the CPP party in 1949 after breaking away from UGCC. The CPP addressed the aspirations of the people up to the remotest village with a slogan "self independence now".
8. Nkurumah opposed the coussey constitution of October 1949 that proposed increased representation of traditional chiefs. The chiefs were to sing the colonial language and this made him get more support for independence.
9. Nkrumah accepted to become leader of government business in 1951 after his release from prison. This made CPP to win 34 out of 38 seats in the LEGCO that led to his acquiring of the office of Prime minister to initiate projects like Volta dam project.
10. As a prime minister, social service delivery was improved e.g. he extended the health sector to rural areas and provided (UPE) to children below 12 years, water and electricity too were provided to the local people.
11. Nkrumah defeated tribalism during the independence struggle by encouraging national unity. Nkrumah worked with all the ethnic based parties such as Togoland progressive party (TPP), national liberation movement (NLM) of the Asante among others. Nkrumah was visionary that made CPP get support.
12. Nkrumah cooperated with the colonial authorities under governor Sir Charles Arden Clarke. He established a mutual trust with the governor and worked on the policy of independence from the British.
13. Nkrumah led the CPP to participate in the 1954 and 1956 pre – independence elections. Nkrumah's party won overwhelmingly i.e. in 1954, CPP got 79 out of 104 seats and 71 in 1956 creating room for leading the country at independence in 1957.

14. Nkrumah under CPP received the instruments of power at independence in 1957 from the British. The new nation adopted the name Ghana in memory of the ancient empire and Nkrumah became the 1st president.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF NKRUMAH AND THE CPP GOVERNMENT (1951 – 1966)

Nkrumah and CPP assumed the arms of an internally self governing gold coast in 1951 when there was rising prices of cocoa and Nkrumah therefore embarked on development projects as below;

1. The government of Nkrumah proclaimed a five year development plan of 120 million pounds. This replaced the 10 year program of governor Allan Burns in 1946. This money was used to import capital equipment, expert personnel and train the local people to provide services to the people.
2. The development of the transport sector was also a major concern of Nkrumah. Roads were expanded from Accra – Takarodi, Kumasi, the railway line was also expanded, Ghana Airways was also established which greatly improved mobility.
3. The communication sector was also developed by Nkrumah. The CPP government modernized Radio and Television services to increase education, entertainment and information. The telephone and wireless telegraphy systems were built, automatic communication services were greatly improved in the urban centres.
4. The CPP government initiated the construction of the hydroelectric power dam at Volta River.

   The dam was aimed at promoting industrialization and it was commissioned in 1961 and it began functioning in 1966 January before the overthrow of Nkrumah. The dam also generated electricity to solve the domestic needs of the people and it was exported to countries like Benin and Togo to increase revenue.

5. Nkrumah promoted industrial development in Ghana compared to the colonial government. The black government ensured the setting up of export promotion industries targeting market in England , local industries were given incentives like tax

exemptions majorly on imported capital equipment. The Nkrumah government also partnered with manufacturing centre to produce essentials like safety matches and sugar.

6. CPP government promoted the agricultural sector in Ghana. The agricultural sector was diversified to reduce reliance on cocoa and bring new crops like maize, yams, G.nuts, coffee among others. Also state farms were set up to encourage livestock farming, poultry and teaching of agricultural science was emphasized in universities.
7. Nkrumah and the CPP government fought the swollen shoot diseases that affected the cocoa sector. There was a nationwide campaign against cocoa disease; trees were cut and farmers given better varieties. The livelihood of farmers was greatly improved through the marketing boards established that offered financial assistance.
8. Nkrumah's CPP government promoted the welfare of the Ghanaians. The government embarked on the housing scheme to solve accommodation shortage created by massive industrialization, the ministry of housing was established that set up houses in Accra, Takoradi and Kumasi and these were rented at low costs and people were also encouraged to buy houses slowly through the savings.
9. Reforms in education were also undertaken by the CPP government. By 1961, the Nkrumah government became the first African country to start the universal primary education (UPE) that made all children below 12 years to attend. It was later extended to secondary and tertiary levels and textbooks were provided to improve quality. The Ghana Education Trust (GET) was set up to build and manage the schools, scholarships were also given to students to study from abroad.
10. Health services were greatly improved upon by the Nkrumah government. Hospitals were established both in rural and urban centres, regional hospitals were built, the Sekondi – Takoradi hospital, clinics were set up to bring services closer to the rural people. A medical school was set up in Accra and many nursing schools were set up in the entire country to address the problems of medical personnel.
11. Nkrumah administration reformed the local government system. District and urban councils were introduced and elective politics became the order of the day. The local councils were in charge of the construction of the roads, water services and education.

The central government provided operational grants for local council development projects.

12. The CPP government Africanized the civil service in Ghana. From the time Nkrumah joined active government leadership in 1951, a plan was launched to include the natives in the management of country affairs. The Ghanaians were encouraged to take up education in order to manage the country affairs after the departure of the colonialists.
13. Nkrumah introduced constitutional reforms for Ghana from 1953. The committee to carry out political mapping for Ghana was headed by a Ghanaian called Van Lare to demarcate the constituencies of the country. Elective posts were highlighted under universal adult suffrage.
14. The government defeated regionalism in Ghana. All the competing political parties based on ethnic lines were made to focus on nation building e.g. the Muslim party association, Ghana congress party, Togo congress, the national liberation movement led by the chief opposition leader Kofi Busia.
15. Nkrumah condemned and fought neo – colonialism. Nkrumah regarded neo – colonialism as the worst stage of imperialism and he blocked ties with the British government. Nkrumah also called upon all African independent governments to dissociate from the former colonial masters, discourage the western balkanization of Africa (divisionism).
16. Nkrumah promoted the culture of Ghana. There was cultural rejuvenation through the promotion of dance, music, art and literature. Ghana ensemble promoted the local music and dance abroad, games and sports were given priority and Ghana was crowned the champion of boxing in the common wealth in 1963, also took part in continental football.
17. CPP government increased mineral exploitation in Ghana. Ghana exploited the gold and aluminium effectively and this boosted economic development, increased industrialization and increased the balance of payment through mineral export.

FAILURES OF NKRUMAH / DOWNFALL

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP- government lasted up to 1966. Despite the numerous achievements of Nkrumah, the country was dominated by many weaknesses that led to the February 24th, 1966 coup organized by Colonel Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, Col. A. Ocran, major Afrifa and the police commissioner Harley.

Nkrumah was overthrown while away to Hanoi – Vietnam on an international peace mission.

The following were the weaknesses of Nkrumah:-

1. The change in the personality of Nkrumah was a major weakness, he turned from a selfless, humble and osagyefo (redeemer) to a power hungry politician, become intolerant and proud that made his boot lickers [henchmen] to become his enemies hence downfall.
2. Nkrumah became autocratic and authoritarian. He destroyed the democracy after independence; he undermined the constitution of 1960 and became a dictator with absolute powers. Nkrumah ruled Ghana by decree, in 1965 – Nkrumah appointed units instead of the elections the Ghanaians waited for and the constituencies were created to the surprise of the people.
3. Nkrumah used the powers of the presidency to interfere with the judiciary.
   In 1962, Nkrumah survived an assassination, and he ordered for the arrest of the chief opposition leader Adamayo as the chief suspect, but later acquitted due to lack of evidence, Nkrumah ordered for the dismissal of the chief justice and many judges, Nkrumah also in 1964 organized a referendum to make Ghanaians decide and make the country a one party state.
4. The dictatorial and tyrannical rule of Nkrumah was a major weakness. He had a tight spy network and passed preventive detention acts, his powers became unquestionable and arrested numerous opposition leaders like JB danquah, Adamayo and Kofi Busia, others were forced to go to exile hence became unpopular.
5. Nkrumah and the CPP government plunged the country into financial bankruptcy. The government became insolvent due to the extravagant and lavish life of Nkrumah, corruption and embezzlement became eminent in the country, the large number of

cabinet ministers was ever on foreign missions leading to the downfall of Nkrumah in 1966.

6. The CPP government failed to address the scarcity of essential goods. These included sugar, drugs, milk, and paraffin, among others. The country adopted unrealistic policies of controlling imports that resulted into scarcity. This was accompanied by lack of employment in urban areas hence the government became unpopular.
7. The Nkrumah government interfered with the police department. The police had attempted to get involved in the abortive coups against Nkrumah, therefore, many of them were terminated and others arrested. These police officers dismissed by the government joined the coup plotters to stage the exit of Nkrumah.
8. Failure of the CPP government to address the grievances of the army led to the down fall of Nkrumah. The army was divided after the creation of the president's brigade, this was well facilitated at the expense of the national army. Worse of all, Nkrumah opened a military academy and recruited CPP supporters, the 1965 decree led to the dismissal of the chief of staff i.e. General Otu and his deputy Lt. Ankrah which undermined the government.
9. Nkrumah's proposal to send the army in southern Rhodesia to fight the UDI government led to his down fall. The army was already nursing grievances, the attempt to send the army out of Ghana exposed his indifference to national suffering, and this undermined the credibility of the CPP government.

THE 1966 MILITARY COUP / DOWNFALL OF NKRUMAH

Nkrumah's government came to an end on 24th February 1966 and the coup plotters included col. Emmanuel Kwasi kotoka, col. Ocran, major Afrifa and the police commissioner J.W Harley.

Causes included:-

1. Corruption and embezzlement of the Nkrumah government, i.e. he spent a lot on foreign trips and lavish life on women.

2. Grievances of the national army i.e. lacked boots, uniforms and unfair promotions and demotions e.g. Otu and his deputy Ankrah were dismissed.
3. Nkrumah's attempt to send his military forces in southern Rhodesia to fight the UDI amidst internal problems.
4. Nkrumah's intervention in the police and judicial system e.g. the unlawful detention of Adamaya on assassination case.
5. The dictatorial policies of Nkrumah i.e. he abolished the independence constitution of 1954 which had put the cabinet under parliament control, banned political parties and arrested opposition leaders e.g. Danquah and Kofi Busia.
6. The change of character and personality of Nkrumah from Osagyefo i.e. redeemer to a selfish and intolerant leader.
7. The unrealistic socialist policies that did not appeal to the Ghanaians e.g. the socialist Russia funded industrialization programs that alienated Nkrumah from capitalist nations.
8. The excessive ambitions of Nkrumah plunged the country into financial bankruptcy i.e. external borrowing was very high that increased the debt burden.
9. Extravagance and lavish spending of Nkrumah and the CPP officials i.e. cabinet ministers ever on foreign missions.
10. The social economic problems e.g. unemployment and scarcity of essential goods e.g. paraffin, sugar etc
11. Nkrumah's government practiced tribalism at a later stage.
12. The impossibility / lack of avenues to remove Nkrumah from power using constitutional means. He ruled by decrees due to the 1960 constitution that gave him absolute powers.
13. The drastic fall in the prices of cocoa on the world market, increased the more problems among farmers.
14. The ambition for power by the coup plotters e.g. kotoka, ocran and Harley.
15. The support of USA and Britain i.e. USA was annoyed not to fund Volta dam project and they used the CIA to support the plotters.

16. Nkrumah's creation of the new security organization or spy network. This was headed by the Russians under Ambrose Yankey that even made children to spy on their parents.
17. Nkrumah interfered with the higher institutions of learning. Both secondary teachers and university professors became enemies to the government, the contracts were terminated, subjects like philosophy and political science were abolished and the world of academia undermined the CPP regime.
18. Influence of other successful coups in Africa i.e. 1965 in Algeria and Congo, January 1966 in Nigeria etc.
19. Nkrumah's interference in the affairs of African states. He had been a pan – Africanist, but went on the extremes e.g. Nkrumah supported rebels against the government of Sylvanus Olympio in Togo and Ivory Coast. He got more enemies who could not help him at the worst time of the coup.
20. The absence of Nkrumah from Ghana led to the coup. He had gone for a peace mission in Vietnam and the plotters attacked the presidential guard, seized the state radio leading to the creation of the national liberation council (NLC).

EFFECTS OF THE 1966 GHANAIAN COUP

The February 1966 coup that overthrew Nkrumah was a turning point in the political development of Ghana. Nkrumah had been looked at as the negotiator of Ghana's independence, patron of PAM, tactical and bright politician and a revolutionary who was now a fallen giant. He died in 1972 of skin cancer while in exile in Guinea Conakry.

The overthrow of Nkrumah led to the establishment of a military junta government in the name of national liberation council (NLC).

The NLC government was headed by a retired deputy head of the armed forces Lt. General Arthor Joseph Ankrah and the police commissioner Harley as the deputy from 1966 and 1969.

Note

The achievements of the military government are the same as the effects of the 1966 coup in Ghana.

Question

Assess the achievements of the military government in Ghana between 1966 and 1969.

- Negotiated big loans from IMF to revamp Ghana's economy
- Sought agreement with the western and eastern creditors about rescheduling loan payment
- Stopped the ill – conceived projects of Nkrumah i.e. Accra – Tema motor way and Nkrumah towers.
- Reduced ministries form 30 – 17 and this helped to invest money in other projects.
- Reduced Ghana's foreign missions by 40% and this helped to reduce on the useless expenditure.
- Placed state cooperatives under competent management and sacked redundant workers i.e. the marketing boards of cocoa.
- Improved Ghana's trade surplus by 28.5 million dollars in the first half of 1966.
- Abolished taxes on essential items and this uplifted the social welfare of the Ghanaians.
- Reduced prices of motor spirits and inland postages.
- Gave income tax exemptions to poorly paid workers
- Raised the prices of cocoa through organized marketing
- Increased the supply of essential commodities there by reducing inflation.
- Paid special attention to development of rural areas especially water schemes i.e. piped water.
- Attempted to check corruption and bribery by arresting high corrupt officials.
- Restored democracy in Ghana in 1969 through lifting the ban on political parties i.e. major Afrifa in government allowed Kofi Busia and his progressive party (PP) to take part in the elections.
- Released Nkrumah's political opponents affected by the preventive detention act.

- Restored the chiefs who had been removed by Nkrumah.
- Allowed the freedom of speech and press i.e. journalists were allowed to freely report and a centre for civic education headed by Kofi Busia sensitized the Ghanaians about the rights and duties.
- The government of NLC did not revenge on CPP supporters and used a lot of negotiation.
- Helped to prepare the constitution for the second republic of Ghana i.e. 1969 and 1972 under Dr Kofi Busia.
- Carried out a two year development plan emphasizing agriculture, fisheries and water i.e. economic diversification.
- Medical facilities were rejuvenated for the masses in the rural areas and this helped to reduce the outburst of diseases that had engulfed the Ghanaian society.

FAILURES OF NLC

- Unemployment became prevalent due to the radical abandonment of Nkrumah's projects, retrenchment of workers also became worse.
- The devaluation of the currency increased prices of imported goods i.e. Ghanaian cedi (currency), It deteriorated the Balance of Payment and the consumer goods.
- Food prices remained very high in Ghana
- Failed to settle Nkrumah's external debts. The getting of money from I.M.F and WB worsened the situation the more. This prolonged Ghana's debt to future governments.
- Defence expenditure increased and this antagonized the economic life of the people. The army budget went to 22% of the country's consolidated earnings and other sectors were sacrificed.
- Economic problems persisted in the country as the inflationary trends increased.
- Corruption in Ghana persisted as the generals embezzled the government funds. This created need for change of government that came in 1969 under Kofi Busia.
- Ankrah was forced to resign in march 1969 because he had become self – centred, wanted to form his own party and this brought Brigadier Akwase Afrifa to organize elections in 1969.

- Divisions in the military council continued and this affected top government decisions. This led abortive coups i.e. 1967 that led to the death of general Kotoka. This made the Afrifa government to return the country to civilian rule in 1969 (at HO in volta region)

GHANA UNDER KOFI BUSIA

(THE RETURN OF CIVILIAN RULE)

Following the resignation of Joseph Ankrah, elections were organised by General Afrifa in 1969 where the progressive party (PP) of Dr. kofi Busia got 105 seats against the 29 seats of the national alliance of liberals (NAL) led by Bedemah. Dr. Kofi Busia was sworn in as prime minister in 1969.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF DR KOFI BUSIA

1. Busia improved on the standards of living of people in the rural areas. He extended social services e.g. 33 water projects were completed and 64 were under by 1972.
2. There was rural electrification scheme that benefited 58 villages and small towns. This boosted economic development in Ghana.
3. Many industries were constructed in Ghana during the regime of Kofi Busia. The problem of rural unemployment was overcome by the small scale industries and uplifted the peasant life.
4. Busia undertook village housing programs compounded by health clinics and feeder roads in rural areas. This increased the standards of living of the masses.
5. There was promotion of agricultural production and this reduced regionalism. The northern and central parts of Ghana experienced agricultural transformation
6. Busia's government increased the balance of payment of Ghana. He reduced the resources allocated to the defense to finance projects in the country. This helped to solve the financial crisis in Ghana in the short time.

FAILURES OF KOFI BUSIA / CAUSES OF THE 1972 COUP

NEO COLONIALISM IN AFRICAN STATES

Neo colonialism refers to the dominancy of independent African states by either the former colonial masters or the developed and industrial states of the world.

NB: Neo-colonialism is secondary colonialism and the highest stage of imperialism in Africa.

Manifestations / Features of neo – colonialism in Africa

1. Giving of economic aid to African states with conditions attached. This aid comes from the USA, World Bank, IMF and foreign expatriates are sent to Africa to supervise the same.
2. Presence of multinational companies in African states (MNCs) is a manifestation of Neo-colonialism. They are large scale companies e.g. coca-cola, MTN, Airtel, Shell, Barclays.
3. Refusal of donor countries to give aid for development e.g. the industrial development in African countries. All funds are diverted to social infrastructure like education and health.
4. Presence of numerous espionage (spy network) in African countries. These include FBI, CIA, Scotland Yard, KGB, these have continually reported Information from Africa including MOSSAD.
5. Control of commodity Prices in the world market by the rich countries of the world is a feature of neo colonialism. It should be noted that African countries are price takers and developed countries are price makers.
6. The signing of trade agreements and concessions is a feature of Neo – colonialism for example Uganda and Belgium in 1979 during the reign of Amin Dada.
7. The continuation of colonial economic policies in African countries e.g. relying on agriculture as a raw material, being more importers of manufactured goods from the rich countries.
8. Lack of industrialization by the post independent African states is a feature of neo – colonialism. African countries are still in traditional stage of production where agriculture is dominant.
9. The collapse of economic integrations is partly related to neo – colonialism, this has been caused by the intervention of western Companies hence higher competition.
10. Imposition of colonial constitutions in African countries is a form of Neo – colonialism i.e. African countries have still articles enshrined in their constitutions right from the colonial times i.e. the British, the French and the Dutch.
11. Presence of white settlers in African countries is a sign of neo colonialism e.g S.A, Kenya, Zimbabwe.
12. Relying on advice of expatriates in the decision making of African countries e.g. Senegal by 1960 getting advice from the French.
13. The attempt to maintain military bases in newly independent African states is a sign of neo-colonialism e.g. Britain in Egypt, Belgium in Zaire (Congo) USA / USSR in Somalia and Ethiopia, France and Belgium in Rwanda.

14. The engineering / supporting of military coups in Africa is a sign of neo – colonialism. These include the 1971 coup in Uganda supported by Britain, the 1974 coup in Ethiopia supported by Russia, etc
15. The education system in African countries based in African countries i.e. More theoretical than practical also based on the foreign curriculum.
16. Direct involvement of developed countries in the internal affairs of African states. This is exemplified by USA in Somalia, France in Nigeria between 1967- 1970 during the Biafra secession, Belgium in Rwanda between 1990 and 1994 during the genocide.
17. Association of independent African states with the former colonial masters e.g. commonwealth for the colonial master, Francophone for the French colonies
18. Use of evangelism in African states is a manifestation of Neo colonialism; this is manifested in the emergence of numerous churches in African states that has caused divisions in church.
19. Western European type of democracy in African states i.e. political pluralism, i.e. the existence of multi party politics as a precondition for foreign aid.
20. The use of foreign languages by African countries like English, Germany, French, Latin etc which has compromised the local languages hence undermining African unity.
21. The use of print and electronic media in African countries e.g. Magazines, Films, YouTube, twitter, Skype, Facebook, Google+ which have had a direct impact on African countries.
22. Sponsoring of rebels / opposition leaders against the governments in power i.e. giving them Forum to express their ideas e.g. the civil societies.
23. Technological transfer / the use of foreign technologies
24. Existence of foreign ideologies e.g. capitalism and communism
25. Dominance of NGOs like DANIDA, USAID, UKAID etc.
26. Western cultural imperialism reflected in the dress code i.e. see through, damaged jeans

Question

Assess the impact of neo – colonialism on the development of any one state of Africa

- Give a viable introduction i.e. definition of neo – colonialism
- Country identified and consisted.
- Positive effect of neo – colonialism
- Other factors for development
- Valid stand points.

Neo – colonialism is the hidden hand of dominance and exploitation of African independent states by former colonial masters or industrialized and developed nations.

The impact of neo -colonialism on development include the following:

- Has led to increased development aid in African countries to fund projects e.g. establishing social services
- Neo - colonialism has provided emergence program relief aid in areas struck by disaster / calamities e.g. the Bududa case for Uganda.
- Has improved on political stability of African countries through the extension of military aid.
- Has encouraged the growth of functional democracy through institutions hence promoting peace e.g. the civil societies.
- Neo – colonialism has promoted good international relations i.e. from the countries giving aid e.g. the Chinese have infiltrated African continent.
- Has promoted technological transfers that have promoted increased productivity, improved quality services and goods.
- Neo – colonialism has helped to bridge the investment gap in African states. This has helped to alleviate unemployment and increased revenue collection in the long run.
- Has improved on the provision of the social survives e.g. education and health through the grants extended to Africa.
- Has eased communication through the introduction of international languages like English, French, Latin. Also electronic gadgets like phones and other plat forms have globalised the world.
- Promoted industrialization through direct foreign investment (FDI) and the multi – national investments. This has helped to improve on the growth path in Africa.
- Helped to fill the man power gap in Africa through the access to foreign expatriates.
- Has ensured government accountability through the supervision of projects under funding. This has helped to check on the institutionalized corruption in African countries.

- Have off set the budgetary deficits in African states. This is because the budgets of African states are not nationally fully funded.
- Promoted infrastructural development that has increased accessibility in Africa. This ranges from roads set up to increase marketing and finalizing development.

OTHER FACTORS FOR DEVELOPMENT

- Natural resource endowment e.g. the harnessing of the available minerals e.g. Albertine oil in Uganda, oil in Nigeria, diamond in Tanzania
- The political stability that attract both local and foreign investment
- Availability of plentiful labor i.e. cheap and skilled to work in different sectors.
- The formation and membership to regional cooperation e.g. EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC, etc
- The positive government policies on investment and development e.g. tax holidays for investors, subsidies etc.
- People's positive attitude towards change i.e. hardworking populace.
- The existence of fertile soils that favor flourishing agriculture
- The able and focused leadership in terms of governance

Question

a) To what extent has neo – colonialism undermined the development of African states
b) How far has neo – colonialism undermined the development of any one state in East Africa
c) To what extent has neo – colonialism contributed to the under development of African states

Roles of neo – colonialism in under developed states is as below:-

- Accelerated the foreign manipulation in decision making in African states
- Led to the continued exploitation of African resources
- Has undermined African independence where policies are determined by the developed world.

- Contributed to the collapse of African integrations e.g. EAC in East Africa by 1977
- Perpectuated political instabilities and coup – detats in Africa e.g. 1971 in Uganda, 1965 in Congo 1965 in Algeria etc.
- Made African states to be producers of what they can't consume and consume what they don't produce/
- Sabotaged industrialization programs in Africa.
- Influenced African states to accumulate foreign debts which keep in the viscous cycle of poverty.
- Led to cultural erosion through the demonstration effects e.g. foreign religions and languages.
- Has created a neo – social class society i.e. the rich and the poor which has increases income inequality with all the associated evils.
- Expanded the concept of brain drain making African states to be raped of technical experts.
- Has undermined African technological advancement or destruction of African craftsmanship innovation and inventions. These are precursors to development.
- Led to persistent balance of payment problems in Africa hence leaving African states impoverished i.e. developed states determine the market prices of goods.
- Made African states to adopt foreign ideologies like capitalism and communism. This has undermined non – aligned movement (NAM) and long term problems can't be handled.
- Increased project repatriation or capital outflow by foreign investors. This has undermined capital accumulation in Africa.
- Promoted environmental degradation through the industries set up i.e. failure to control pollution which decimates the life span of Africans.
- Unemployment has increased due to unfavorable structural adjustment programs (SAPS) imposed on Africans i.e. forced retrenchment to downsize the numbers.
- Created puppet leaders in Africa who dance to the tunes of the supporters form the developed world.

- Made African education to be more theoretical or irrelevant or inappropriate to the current problems of African states.
- Made African states to be dumping grounds for poor quality products. These have side effects on the life of Africans.
- Increased immorality in African states e.g. prostitution and homosexuality.
- Neo – colonialism in form of aid has caused inflationary problems i.e. goods imported from inflated states.
- Devalued the currencies of African states. This is because determination of value is judged according to dollars, pounds etc.

OTHER FACTORS

- Weak leadership in Africa
- Internal disunity in Africa which undermines development
- Poor government planning and priotization i.e. neglect of agriculture vs defense to increase political longevity
- Corruption and embezzlement in government sectors
- Tribalism / nepotism and favoritism which causes unfair decisions
- Existence of unstable political systems which scare investors.
- Low levels of technological advancement.
- Cultural rigidities / indoctrinations e.g. some peasants fear to use tractors for fear of causing soil infertility

Question

How has neo – colonialism affected the development of any one African country since independence?

Assess / examine the impact of neo – colonialism on the people in any one state in central Africa.

NB:

-on people / country – positive or negative

-Impact on the development – positive vs other factors.

THE CONCEPT OF NON – ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM)

The non – aligned movement was founded during the collapse of the colonial systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world.

It emerged at the height of cold war politics that had established military blocks of NATO (1949) and Warsaw pact of 1955 for the capitalists and communists respectively.

The NAM idea was conceived in 1955 at Bandung conference organized by the Indonesian president Surkano, Jawaharlal Nehru the premier of India and Gamel Nasser the president of Egypt.

The concept of NAM at Bandung was composed of a delegation of 29 members from India, Indonesia, China, Egypt, Algeria, and Ghana among others. It became official in 1961 at the Belgrade summit in Yugoslavia with Joseph Broz Tito as it first general secretary.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF NAM

Reference questions

A .Account for the adoption of the non – alignment policy by independent African states (UNEB 2006)

B .Why was the non – aligned movement (NAM) formed in 1955? (UNEB 2011)

The aims of non – aligned movement included the following:

1. To maintain world peace by promoting non – violent means and reject the use of force.

2. To support self determination and national independence in the 3rd world, reject all forms of imperialism.

3. To safeguard the sovereignty of the member states against the domination by the upper powers i.e. encouraging the independence of the non – aligned nations from cold war politics.

4. To discourage military alliances and push for the disarmament of the superpowers to decelerate world conflicts.

5 .To promote economic independence of the member states.

6 .The desire to encourage active participation of non – aligned states 3rd world in the international affairs especially in the UN without coercion i.e. domination of the great powers of NATO

7. To strengthen the UNO towards effective performance in its endeavors of decolonization and peace preservation globally.

8. To enhance socio – economic development and restructuring of international economic systems.

9 .To promote the south - south cooperation i.e. the cooperation among the 3rd world nations with mutual understanding and tolerance.

10.To ensure the peaceful co – existence among all nations of the world i.e. democratize international relations.

11.The desire to reject all forms of racial discrimination like apartheid and Zionism (Israel related movement)

12.To encourage the respect for human rights as contained in the universal declaration of human rights charter of UN adopted in 1948.

13.To ensure the peaceful resolution of disputes in the world without resorting to wars that had shattered world economies.

14.To opposse and castigate in union the stationing of military bases in the foreign countries. This had been done by the members of NATO having satellites in African countries (information gathering gadgets).

SUCCESSES / ACHIEVEMENTS OF NAM

1.The non – aligned movement has had a long period of existence since 1961 as inaugural year. The movement has been in existence for over 55 years and this is attributed to the numerous conferences held i.e. from Belgrade, the attendance to the UN general assemblies hence consolidating its stay.

2.The movement has expanded its membership by attracting many developing countries. This was attained after the attainment of independence by many African and Asian countries from 29 members to over 100 countries. The last members to join included FIJI from Oceania and Azerbaijan of Asia in 2011 respectively.

3.The NAM greatly contributed to the world peace and stability. The movement contained the cold war politics that had threatened world peace. It condemned the arms race by the super powers through supporting the strategic Arms limitation talks (SALT) and strategic Arms reduction talks (START). These castigated the production of nuclear weapons that reduced militarization by creating peace.

4.The NAM greatly led to the collapse of cold war politics or super powers. The member states continued with the policy of neutrality and castigated the arms race of the super powers. The members of NAM used the platform of the UN to isolate the ideological wars of USA and USSR, the NAM also led to the collapse of the Berlin wall and re – unified Germany leading to peace.

5.The NAM advocated for the reformation of the United Nations hence making it more effective. NAM openly criticized and structures of the UN – structure and power dynamics. The security council of the united Nations was highly criticized of being undemocratic and asked the UN to reshape its structures to promote international democracy.

6.NAM contributed for the respect of small states in the world. The weight of small states was increased not to be dominated by the super powers. This completed USA to work with the NAM member countries to fight terrorism in the world and kept peace in Yugoslavia, Somalia etc.

7.Non – alignment has promoted unity and cooperation among member states. This ensured the south – south cooperation of the 3rd world nations. This ensured a United front of member states to have a stronger voice in the UN – general assembly to reduce the dominance of the super powers.

8.NAM was instrumental in the promotion of Afro – Asian solidarity. The mutual cooperation between Africans and Asians became official at the Bandung conference. The idea of solidarity was further propagated to the subsequent conferences like te Belgrade of 1961 and 1979 Lusaka conference.

9.The non – alignment policy promoted economic relations among states. The NAM nations have extended financial and technical assistance to member states. The NAM powers like India, Indonesia, UAE, Saudi Arabia provided funds and technical expertise to the projects in weaker states e.g. Angola, Uganda and Tanzania. The movement boosted confidence among the weaker states to distance themselves from the super powers.

10.The NAM led to the establishment of the south – south commission in 1988. The commission was formed to address the economic backwardness of the weaker nations of the world. NAM collaborated with other organizations like the group of 1977 to promote dialogue and cooperation among the 3rd world.

11.The non – alignment condemned imperialism and encouraged friendly relations of all nations. The movement has greatly condemned imperialist attacks, acts of aggression and other injustices of the big states against the small states. The NAM condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1981 and also condemned the unhealthy and senseless assassination of Muammar Gadhafi in 2011.

12.The NAM contributed to the development of African nationalism. The members of NAM used the platform of UN to voice out anti – colonial sentiments against imperialism. It demanded the intervention of the UN to impose sanctions of colonial masters, made Africans to become recommitted to independence.

13.Non – alignment condemned racial discrimination and dominance in the world. The spirit of the movement fought the racist apartheid policy in south Africa and the UDI government of southern Rhodesia. Member states extended military and financial support to the blacks to fight the whites. The movement also pressurized the UN to intervene in the Palestinian question against Zionist Israel.

14.NAM has attempted to intervene in the conflict among member states. It condemned the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and mediated in the Pakistan conflict. The members tried to arbitrate in the Sudan conflict that ended the conflict that started tin 1955. This finally led to the independence of South Sudan in 2011.

15.The non – aligned nations have tried to promote the respect of human rights. This has been done in line with the universal declaration of human rights (UDHR) of the UN that advocated for equality of people. The policy also condemned the aggression of the powerful nations and promoted justice and respect and cultural diversity. (Cross – cultural management)

16.Members of the non – aligned movement have continuously emphasized democracy and establishment of peoples' governments. It condemned dictatorial regimes of Idi Amin in Uganda, Saddam regime in Iraq among other. The moment calls for the peaceful handover of power through constitutional and democratic means. The NAM nations have collectively stood against coups and unlawful takeover of governments.

17.The NAM members have exercised freedom of action while dealing with great powers. This was exhibited by Libya against NATO invasion in 2011. Egypt exercised the same and nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956. This was done after USA and UK withdrew the economic aid to enable Nasser to complete the Aswan project.

WEAKNESSES / FAILURES OF NAM

1.The movement has failed to solve interstate conflicts among the non – aligned nations. Conflicts and misunderstandings have existed between India and Pakistan, Iraq and

Kuwait, Uganda and Sudan, the Congo question which caused tension between Uganda, the Kabila government and Rwanda.

2.The NAM failed in its attempt to maintain political stability and security of its member states. Many military coups and civil wars have existed in African states like Congo, Uganda, Sudan, CAR, Asian countries like Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Afghanistan. This affected peace in these nations rendering the movement ineffective.

3.NAM has failed to develop into a body that can threaten the world power blocks. The eastern an western blocs have continued to exist even after the cold war politics leading to a new trend of imperialism. It is true the NAM is a big organization of next to UN, but it has been undermined by the power blocks and it has remained inferior in international conventions.

4.The NAM failed to uphold the principle of "Positive neutrality". The member states have ended up identifying with foreign ideologies of capitalism and communism. This has perpetuated neo – colonialism undermining the independence of the states.

5.The NAM has failed to prevent ideological conflicts among the member states, conflicts have occurred among members. The bigger nations have undermined the proceedings forwarded by non – aligned members for the weaker states. This has affected the process of finding a common approach to the problems of the world and hindering solidarity.

6.The movement has failed in its endeavors to improve on the living conditions of the people of its member states. Majority of the non – aligned member states have been increasingly affected by the high levels of ignorance, disease, poverty, starvation and other socio - economic problems.

7.NAM has failed to stop the intervention of western international NGOs. This has opened gates to increased domination and exploitation of the non – aligned states. The poorest nations of the world according to the UNDP and HDI that reflect poverty index are members of NAM.

8.The movement has failed to check on personal conflicts among the heads of states. The evidence was in 1969, fidel Castrol of Cuba organized the Havana conference of NAM and was ignored by other member states. Conflicts existed between the Sultan Hassan of Morocco and Ben Ali of Tunisia, Joseph Kabila of DR. Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda among others.

9.The NAM has failed to condemn militarization of the great powers in the non – aligned countries. The major world powers have since 190s acted aggressively on NAM nations e.g. France tested its nuclear bomb in the Sahara, US bombardment of Benghezi in Libya in the 1980s, NAM members only verbally condemned without practical solutions. Also this militarism was extended in Libya in 2011 by the NATO – explosions that saw the death of Gadhafi.

10.Non aligned members have failed to prevent the influence of western cultures. The native cultural heritage has been eroded by western imperialism leading to dubious western acts like homosexuality and gay – marriage, money has been poured in NAM countries to promote such acts due to economic desparacy.

12.Some member states of NAM have allowed the bigger powers to establish military bases in their territories. These include Pakistan, Egypt, Kenya, CAR, Iraq among others. This has undermined the sovereign integrity that the movement desired to promote.

13.Non – aligned states have become breeding grounds for the terrorist activities in the world hence a failure. Terrorism has been harbored, organised and unleashed using the aligned states like Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Osama Bin Laden - the leader of the Al – Qaeda was assassinated in Pakistan which is a strong supporter of NAM. (This followed the September 2011 attack on USA of the trade centre.

PROBLEMS OR CHALLENGES OF NAM

1.Persistent poverty and economic backwardness

2.Ideological differences creating mistrust among members

3.Neo colonialism

4.Political instabilities hindering progress

5.The end of cold war that left the movement with no enemy to fight.

6.Lack of a proper definition of NAM – Surkano looked at it as containing cold war Vs Nyerere for self determination of weaker nations, variance affected decisions.

7.Foreign supervision and patronage by great powers i.e. Cuba used USSR, Kenya with USA.

8.NAM states are affiliated to other groups or organizations e.g. OAU, AU, OPEC, regional bodies ECOWAS, Arab league, this create conflicting loyalty.

9.The persistent interstate conflicts create disunity and disharmony

10.The death of core members like Nkrumah, Nehru and leaving active politics, Nasser died in 1970. The new generation leaders lack initial vision

11.Other member states are either driven by personal or national interests e.g. Nasser joined to promote Pan Arabism,Yugoslavia joined to reduce the cold war tension and promote country security etc.

12.Wide operation area of NAM. The members of the South included Asian, African, South America and parts of North America i.e. the Caribbean / West Indies.

NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA

Nigeria was colonized by Britain and it delayed to get independence due to tribalism. The leading nationalist was Nnamdi Azikiwe who formed the NCNC i.e. the national council of Nigeria and the Cameroon in 1944, but dominated by the Ibo from the Eastern Nigeria, the Action Group (AG) Dominated by the Yoruba of the south, the national people's congress (NPC) by the northerners among others.

Nigeria received her independence on 1st October 1960 when the leader of NCNC Nnamdi Azikiwe became the governor general and later president and Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa the leader of NPC became eh prime minister up to 1966 when the government was overthrown through a coup.

THE 1966 NIGERIAN COUPS (JANUARY / JULY)

It should be noted that the instabilities in Nigerian politics was pegged on colonial legacy. The divisionism in the country that rotated on the political parties formed created a situation of animosity.

On 15th January, 1966, a bloody coup was staged by the Ibo officers from the eastern part by Nigeria. The coup eliminated the PM Tafawa Balewa and the Ibo dominated the government led by General Aquiyi Ironsi. Ironsi was also over thrown in July 1966 by Yakoub Gowon.

Leaders of the January coup included major Emmanuel Ifeajune, major Okafor and major Adewale. July – Gowon was called to pacify the Nigerian politics.

CAUSES OF THE COUPS IN NIGERIA (1966)

1. The colonial legacy of divide and rule created a shaky ground. The independence constitution came up with federalism based on regions and ethnic differences. This forced the easterners and northerners to stage coups.
2. Pre – mature independence granted to Nigeria. No proper preparation of the leaders hence blundered a lot.
3. Religious differences between the Moslem North and the Christian south. Worsened by the implementation of the Sharia law in the Christian south.
4. The 1963 – 1964 population scandal which reflected and inflated the statistics of the north. This inspired the Ibo in the east to stop the domination of the northerners.
5. The discovery of oil in the Eastern Nigeria that motivated the Ironsi group to stage the coup.

6. The existence of corruption and economic mismanagement by Tafewa's government embezzled the government funds and attracted the large firms to invest at the expense of other regions.
7. The mal – practices related to the 1965 federal elections, rigged and made Tafawa to be victorious hence created annoyance leading to coup.
8. The introduction of the army into the politics of Nigeria. Some had served as ex – service mean of World War II, took part in the Katanga secession hence mobilizing soldiers to fight.
9. The personal ambitions of Ibo offices like Ironsi and northerners like Gowon.
10. The ethnicity manifested in promotions, employment and recruitment created army intervention, the government civil service and army dominated by the northerners.
11. The influence of other successful coups in Africa e.g. the 1963 coup in Togo, the 1965 in Congo by Mobutu and Bourmedienne against Ahmed Ben Bella.
12. The poor working conditions in Nigeria i.e. wide spread unemployment, inflation and general poverty of the populace e.g. the southerners.
13. Grievances of the army, i.e. low Salaries, Ltd promoted among others.
14. The role of mass media e.g. the Hausa Vernacular newspaper that published Vengeance (revenge) messages against the Ibo.
15. The impact of the spread of rumors e.g. the January rumor that the northerners army officers were plotting to kill Ibo officers and the July coup that Ibo army officers planned to kill the northerner officers.

EFFECTS OF THE COUP

POSITIVE

1. Led to the overthrow of Sir Tafawa Abubaker who was a dictator.
2. Led to the rise of relatively reformed and democratic leaders e.g. Ironsi.
3. The new government tried to reconcile the Nigerian tribes i.e. Ibo, Hausa and Fulani.
4. Ironsi's government registered economic development i.e. infrastructure and education.
5. Unitary government system was introduced to replace regionalism and federalism.

6. Public service was reformed and jobs were acquired on merit.
7. Ironsi reformed the army and promotion was regulated.
8. Ironsi arrested some of the people in the government considered as wrong doers and the date for the persecution was set. The coup plotters like Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna, major Okafor and major Adewale.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS

1. The government that came to power in January 1966 was ineffective.
2. The military regime later resurrected ethnic tension or differences through the tribal appointment.
3. The Ibo dominance in the politics was replaced by the Hausa and Fulani domination.
4. The coup led to the murder of prominent politicians and military figures e.g. Tafawa Balewa, Ahmad Bello, Chief Akintole from Yoruba etc
5. Ironsi later turned into a dictator and was over thrown by Gowon in July 1966.
6. The coupled to the consolidation of the military in the Nigerian politics.
7. The military regime failed to control inflation in Nigeria.
8. The January coup influenced the attempted secession of Biafra from 1967 – 1970.
9. The political events of 1966 perpetuated new – colonialism in Nigeria
10. The coups made Gowon to re-establish the federal type of government that had been replaced by unitary of Ironsi.

THE BIAFRAN SECESSION / THE CIVIL WAR 1967 - 1970

The Biafran secession was the attempted break away of the region of Biafra from the rest of Nigeria. It took place on 30th, may 1967 when the governor of the Eastern part of Nigerian col. Odumwengu Ojukwu proclaimed the independence of the eastern region.

The federal government of Gowon launched an offensive in July 1967 in an attempt to refuse the break away.

CAUSES OF THE BIAFRAN SECESSION OR CIVIL WAR

1. The discovery of oil in the eastern Nigeria contributed to the secession. The Ibo wanted to have control of the oil resource in order to transform the region. This followed the siphoning of the oil resource in terms of revenue without developing eastern Nigeria. This created conflict between the central government and led to the Biafran crisis.
2. The Massacre of the Ibo across Nigeria also led to the crisis. Upon Yakoub Gowon's coming to power, he started revenging against the Ibo, he embarked on the systematic genocide against the Ibo soldiers and civilians. In 1966, thousands of Ibo soldiers were killed including Gen. Ironsi. The secession was intended to protect the Ibo from the brutality of Gowon's government.
3. The ethnic rivalry led to the secession. This happened between the major groups i.e. the Fulani, Hausa and the Ibo, Yoruba.

   These conflicted to dominate the affairs of Nigeria and even the political parties were ethnically based e.g. the NCNC for the Ibo, the NPC for the Fulani and Hausa, the AG for the Yoruba. This created hostility between the various tribes leading to the Nigerian 1967 crisis.
4. The 1963 – 1964 population scandal contributed to the crisis. According to the federal government, resources were to be allocated in line with population density. The population results exaggerated the statistics of the north to take advantage of the national cake. The majority easterners felt isolated and cheated hence opted for the secession attempt.
5. The northern domination of the political power since independence caused the crisis. The northern region dominated the politics of Nigeria since independence i.e. Sir Abubaker Tafawa became the PM, his government was dominated by the Hausa – Fulani. When Yakoub Gowon came to the power in 1966 – July the Hausa – Fulani continued to dominate Nigeria leaving aside the Igbo hence the secession attempt.

6. The religious differences also caused the civil war in Nigeria. The north was occupied by the Moslems (Hausa – Fulani) where as the eastern of the Ibo were Christians. Religious differences created hatred and tension between the east and the north. This made co – existence very impossible.
7. The colonial legacy was partly to blame for the crisis. In the 60years stay of the British in Nigeria, they never emphasized national unity and divided Nigeria into northern, eastern, western and southern regions. Each of these regions was governed separately and this made people to look at themselves in terms of regions. This was worsened by direct rule which emphasized loyalty hence problems boiled up by 1967 for the break way.
8. Corruption and inefficiency in the federal government led to the crisis. The government of Yakoub Gowon was characterized by embezzlement and misappropriation of the resources. The northerners used their powers to plunder resources for personal gains. Gowon did nothing to establish a corrupt free society.
9. The declaration of the 12 state structures in May 1967 prompted the secession. This was reacted to negatively by the tribalism. Gowon had issued a decree dividing the country into 12 states deprived the Ibo of the oil wealth which they opposed. This led to the break away in 1967.
10. The declining economic situation in Nigeria laid a foundation for the secession. The political turmoil that happened between 1966 and 1967 caused economic decline in Nigeria. This stretched as far as 1964 when prices of essential commodities hiked by 15%, wages fell below the minimum leading to increased unemployment, the standards of living of people became miserable. This completed the easterners dominated by the Ibo to breakaway due to the precarious economic conditions.
11. Odumwengu Ojukwu's personality and power ambitions led to the crisis. He was arrogant and uncompromising, he was determined to create the state of Biafra at all costs Ojukwu turned down all attempt by the federal government to create peace in eastern Nigeria. He had ambitious of ruling Nigeria, but his efforts or hopes were being blocked by the northern domination of the government affairs. This compelled the Ojukwu group to declare Biafra secession in 1967.

12. The 1966 July coup also contributed to the civil war in Nigeria. The coup led to the coming to power of Yakoub Gowon in Nigeria after overthrowing Ironsi whom he later assassinated. This was followed by massacring of 1000s of Ibos in the areas of Kaduna, Sokoto and Zaria. The Ibos were forced to migrate back to their tribal homelands in the east hence declaring the Biafra republic.
13. The economic prosperity of the Ibo land also promoted the secession. The eastern region was economically developed especially in terms of fertile soils, reliable rainfall that sustained agriculture to support the large population. It had developed infrastructure especially the Port Harcourt and this made the area to boom economically, hence compelling the secession attempt.
14. The unification decree by general Ironsi also laid grounds for the civil war. Ironsi had thought of abolishing the federal government in Nigeria and establish a unitary state. This was to be under a single government to ensure effective service delivery. The decree however became unpopular and resulted into riots in Nigeria. This regenerated into the 1967 when the Ibo got back to their homeland.
15. The conflict and struggle for government positions also led to the civil war. The largest population in Nigeria struggled for the limited slots of public services. This caused tension which culminated into the Biafra crisis. There was conflict in the army when the quota system was introduced in which 50% of the army officers were to come from the north, 25% from east and 25% from the west. The implication was that the northerners were to dominate the army and Ibo felt, marginalized prompting the civil war in 1967.
16. The expected external support to the Ojukwu led to the secession attempt. The USA, France and other oil producing companies provided support with a hope of benefiting if Biafra succeeds. These countries expected to cheaply by the oil and this gave Ojukwu confidence to declare the state of Biafra.
17. The influence of the attempted Katanga secession of 1960 – 1963 in Congo inspired the Biafrans. Some Ibo soldiers had been sent to Katanga to create peace. The participation gave the Ibo soldiers the chance to gain ideas which prompted them to work on the mistakes of the Katanga, hence the attempted break away in 1967.

Reference questions

1. Account for the outbreak of the Biafran Crisis in 1967.
2. Examine the causes and effect of the civil war in Nigeria between 1967 –1970.
3. "The economic factors were primarily responsible for the 1967 – 1970 Biafran secession". Discuss

EFFECTS OF BIAFRAN SECESSION

1. The new state of Biafra was defeated by the federal government of Yokubu Gowon. Ojukwu fled to Ivory Coast and Nigeria united to defend the territory integrity and independence.
2. Attempts were made to unite and rebuild the nation. Economic reforms were carried out e.g. the second development plan of 1974 was launched, the 3rd development plan of 1975 put emphasis on constitution, agriculture, industry and infrastructure, 32 billion Naira was put aside for development project.
3. Gowon made efforts to reconcile the people of Nigeria. He visited the Ibo territories and encouraged the people to forget the past differences and work towards national unity, peace and stability.
4. Nigeria was restructured politically by Gowon. The country was divided into 12 states to avoid ethnic conflicts.
5. The Biafra crisis led to the militarization of Nigerian policies i.e. intervention of their army. The army reasoned that no civilian government could handle Nigerian problems and curb tribal conflicts.

   This made Nigeria to be a hub of military coups e.g. Gowon was over thrown in 1975 by Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, Murtala replaced by San Abacha, 1999 elections won by Olusegun Obasanjo.
6. The crisis led to the emergences of new leaders in Nigeria e.g. Olusegun who became the high commander of the army. This is attributed to his popularity in fighting the Biafrans.

7. The secession attempt resulted into refugee's crisis in the region. Many people were displaced and several Ibos fled to neighboring countries like Niger and Ivory coast.
8. There was a decline in the economy of Nigeria as economic activities were paralyzed. Agriculture, industry and oil drilling declined. A lot of money was wasted on buying weapons. The social and economic infrastructure got destroyed like roads, hospitals and urban centres.
9. The crisis promoted neo – colonialism in Nigeria. This is because Britain extended aid to rehabilitate the destroyed economy hence continued to influence Nigerian affairs.

REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF BIAFRAN SECESSION

1. Opposition from the rest of Nigeria contributed to its failure. The Hausa - Fulani, Yoruba all opposed the secession of Biafra from the united Nigeria. This made it unpopular and contributed to its failure by 1970.
2. The fleeing / flight of colonel Odumwengu Ojukwu to Ivory coast led to failure of the secession. Ojukwu was forced to run away for safety of his life and the Biafra forces lost his ground leadership. The resistors could not effectively fight the federal government hence surrendered by 1970.
3. Opposition from some Ibo in Nigeria also contributed to the defeat of Biafra. These included Nnamdi Azikiwe and other University lecturers opposed the state of Biafra due to lack of trust in Ojukwu. They collaborated with the federal government to defeat the sinister motives of Ojukwu.
4. The successful military strategy employed by the federal government. The government blocked all the routes leading to Ibo land and this was intended to cut off the Ibo from handy support, supplies into the Biafran state. This weakened the fighters by 1970.
5. The support and assistance from the ex – services men to the federal government. These soldiers extended support and the vast experience to the federal forces to defeat the separatist forces of Biafra.

6. The determination of the federal government to protect the independence of Nigeria. The federal government was determined to defend independence and integrity and gain firm control of the resources like oil and use it for the national development.
7. The high degree of discipline exhibited by the federal forces. They fought bravely to avoid killing of the innocent people. On the contrary, the Biafrans raped, vandalized property hence becoming unpopular in the public domain (eye). This later led to defeat in 1970.
8. The sound economic strength of the federal government accounts for the defeat. The federal government had resources to sustain the war and the government was able to purchase the modern machinery.

   Also the army was highly paid which kept the morale high to fight the Biafra state.

9. The massive death of Ibo soldiers during the war and in the 1966 coup. The July coup of Gowon systematically exterminated many Ibo soldiers as a way of revenge. This alienated Ojukwu to have military experienced soldiers who could bring about victory.
10. The prolonged famine also contributed to the Biafra defeat. The effective strategy of the federal government denied the Ibo fighters food supplies amidst limited agricultural activities.
11. Overwhelming support to the federal government contributed to the defeat by 1970. The federal government received support from the European powers and they weakened the lonely Biafrans.
12. The role of OAU and Pan African Movement led to the defeat of Biafra. The OAU condemned the breakaway and treated it as sub – nationalism and micro nationalism. It took a firm stand and called upon the member states to denounce and deny the Biafrans support.
13. The military superiority of the federal government led to the defeat. This was in terms of man power that totaled to 120,000 fighters who fought a small and inexperienced Biafrans. This numerical advantage led to the defeat of the Biafran by 1970.

14. The role of the United Nations led to the defeat of Biafra. The UN forced France to withdraw support the Biafrans and this greatly undermined the success.

Question

1. Account for the defeat of the Biafran secession by 1970.
2. Examine the factors which undermined the success of the Nigerian civil war between 1967 and 1970.

NATIONALISM IN UGANDA

Examine the factors that delayed the development of Nationalism in Uganda between 1900-1951

In 1894, Uganda was declared a British Protectorate and received herself rule on 9th October, 1962 after a strong political coalition between Kabaka Yekka (KY) and UPC which was temporary. Nationalism in Uganda did not develop until 1952 because of the following political, social and economic factors;

- Political movements formed were based on religion and tribes which failed to attract the support of all Ugandans. Nationalism started developing after 1952 when UNC was formed by Ignatius Musaazi, Abu Mayanja and Ben Kiwanuka. Other parties that were formed before 1950's like the Bataka Party and Uganda Farmers Forum (association) did not attract nationwide support hence the religious and tribal sentiments delayed the development of Nationalism in Uganda.

- Uganda was characterized by traditional issues that prevented the development of Nationalism in Uganda. Buganda was mainly concerned with the land that had been grabbed by the British and Sir Apollo Kaggwa whom the British used was just a rubber stamp for the British and Okayed their policies. This failed Uganda to unite and hence blocking the Rise of Nationalism in Uganda.
- The role of the religion prevented the development of National Parties that were united hence delayed Nationalism. The British Policy of divide and rule was also reflected on Religious lines. Christians didn't work with the Moslems, Catholics and Protestants, Pagans alone, such divisionism hindered unity and parties were formed basing on religious lines e.g. UNC for the Buddo Protestants, UPC was for the Mwiri elites and DP for the Catholics and KY for the Kabaka institution. This promoted the delay of Nationalism.
- The massive illiteracy in Uganda. Very few people were educated by 1950's and only Musaazi, Abu Mayanja and Joshua Kakonge were the literates in Uganda. It was therefore difficult to mobilize the largest population composed of illiterates whose perception of unity in diversity was difficult. The missionary education served the interests of the whites and divided the minds of the peasants who failed to conceive the fruits of democracy. Hence this illiteracy militated against Nationalism in Uganda.
- The absence of white settlers in Uganda. There was no land alienation by the colonialists as it was in S.A, Portuguese colonies and Zimbabwe hence Ugandans Saw no reason of rising against the colonialists. The Buganda agreement of 1900 had alienated land but left people as squatters on their land. Therefore Uganda lacked a serious issue that would lead to the rise of Nationalism.
- The existence of multi-ethnic Nationalism; it had an impact on the development of Nationalism in Uganda. Uganda had many tribes and these lacked a common and National Language to rally them together. Each of the three tribes wanted favors from the British especially Baganda who wanted Luganda to be a national language. This was opposed by British and the rest of Uganda as it couldn't unite

people. Consequently, Buganda fell out with the British and Sir Andrew Cohen deported Kabaka in 1953 which brought Obote on board hence delayed Nationalism in Uganda because one had to be a Ugandan nationalist without exclusion.

- The economic viability of Uganda. The British discovered economic potential in Uganda and reasoned that it was immature to grant independence without due preparations from the British government. All the resistances were handled with Brutality especially the issue of Buganda land, the 1945-49 revolts were crashed by the British using the Kings' African riffles that threatened Africans (Uganda) not to revolt and lead to assassination of Buganda prime minister Nsibirwa.
- The British policy of divide and rule had a negative impact on the development of Nationalism. The Bantu were divided against the Nilotics and Buganda against the rest of Uganda. Buganda was used as collaborators and it suppressed all the revolts, oppressed people, the Protestants were divided against the Catholics which created clear cut divisions. Because of these and many others, British gave autonomous powers to Buganda against other regions which brought conflicts over leadership and Buganda even attempted to secede in 1966 which delayed concrete unity.
- The 1900 Buganda Agreement acted as a stumbling block against the Rise of Nationalism in Uganda. The agreement gave the British a lot of powers over land, taxation and government and left the Buganda Kingdom with some powers relative to other regions. The Kabaka lost power in 1955 in the common Namirembe agreement where his powers were reduced to a constitution, he couldn't have control over land and this impacted on other areas not to demand for self rule hence delaying the rise of Nationalism.
- The differences in parties and their divergent ideologies delayed Nationalism in Uganda. The parties were formed to counteract each other e.g. UNC was accused by following the position of Buganda, DP was capitalistic and opposed UNC, UPC had socialist inclinations hence the divergence in these political parties made the

likes of Changa Macho, Kiwanuka, Kivejinja, Bidandi Ssali to follow different ideologies which prevented long term unity to pursue a common cause for National development.

- The issue of the lost countries of Buyaga and Bugangaizi. These counties were given to Buganda for collaborating with the British but it sowed seeds of disunity between Buganda and Bunyoro hence the failure by Buganda and Bunyoro to unite for a common cause and fight an enemy for self independence delayed nationalism as the Kabaka had set up the Ndaiga scheme for Baganda to improve their social welfare.
- Conflicts within the Buganda Lukiiko. The Lukiiko was divided and in 1947 there was an attempted assassination of Daudi Chwa- the Kabaka of Buganda, Samuel Wamala was also opposed and there was a successor called Nsibirwa who was murdered and accused of granting land to Makerere University. These conflicts over land within the Lukiiko delayed independence because it had spillover effects to other regions of Uganda.

OTHER FACTORS

- Lack of trade unions
- Lack of strong conflicts between Ugandans and the British
- Parties formed were on the basis of elites and did not get the support of illiterates e.g. UNC for Budonians, UPC for Mwiri students etc
- Lack of political interests by the elites and others were sent abroad for further studies.
- Lack of a clear policy for Uganda's future by the British. These were convinced by F.D Rugard on economic grounds which made them to Siphon resources from Uganda for long before granting it independence
- Limited nature of the press. Papers included Uganda Eyogera, Munno which were restricted in Buganda and Busoga yet the majority of Ugandans wouldn't read these papers because of language barrier.

- Existence of kingdoms which did not want to relinquish their autonomous powers to a single political unit delayed Nationalism in Uganda.

Qn

Examine the factors facilitated the growth of Nationalism in Uganda in the 1950's?

Briefly give the history of Uganda and why the Nationalism delayed between 1900-1951

Give factors for the rise of Nationalism

- Liberal policies of Andrew Cohen eg he rushed for rapid economic and political reforms, expanding LEGCO representation and advocated for a united Uganda for from tribal sentiments.
- Role of elites
- Role of religion
- The effect of Mau-Mau uprising 1952-55
- Increased Uganda participation in the legislative council (LEGCO)
- The Buganda issue/opposition of the East African Federation
- Infrastructural development in Uganda in terms of roads and railways.
- Ghana's independence of 1957
- Role of UNO
- World War II and its effects
- Independence of Asian States
- Role of the Labor Party in 1945 that even sent Sir Andrew Cohen who advocated for a united Uganda
- Role of super powers
- Egyptian revolution of 1952 i.e. Musaazi was given asylum by Nasser to form UNC which de-campaigned colonialists
- Macmillan speech of wind of change in 1960

Note:

- Uganda gained its independence on 9th October 1962 after a coalition between Kabaka Yekka Party and UPC of Obote. Hence Sir Edward Muteesa II became President and Obote Prime Minister with more executive powers as per the constitution of 1962. The coalition between KY and UPC was therefore a matter of convenience as the Kabaka was made a rubber stamp of the Prime Minister Obote.
- Obote used his powers as PM to make Bunyoro vote as per the demands of the referendum to be held in 1964, because the counties of Buyaga and Bugagaizi which the colonial government had rewarded the Kingdom ie Buganda for her collaboration had to be resolved. Obote also abrogated the constitution of 1962 and in 1967 declared the abolition of kingdoms in Uganda, declared Uganda a Republic upon becoming President. Hence the Buganda kingdom issued an ultimatum of 10 days to make Obote and his government to leave the Buganda land.

  Obote reacted before the deadline and attacked the Kabaka's palace in Mengo which led to the second deportation of the Kabaka and hence leading to the crisis.

THE 1966 KABAKA/CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

This crisis took place on 24th May 1966 when the National Army on Obote's orders led by the Late Commander Idi Amin Dada attacked the Kabaka's palace in Mengo. There was some fighting between National forces of Obote and the defenders of Kabaka for six hours on a rainy afternoon. The Kabaka forces were defeated and he fled to exile in London where he died in 1969. The crisis however didn't only involve the attack of the palace but also five ministers of the cabinet had been arrested for betraying government.

CAUSES OF THE KABAKA CRISIS

- The desire by Buganda to secede from the rest of Uganda caused the crisis. It ought to be noted that Buganda enjoyed a special position and hence demanded separate independence which Sir Andrew Cohen rejected. Also when Kabaka Mutesa II came back from England in 1955, he had been made a constitutional monarchy with reduced powers and the 1962 constitution gave the Prime Minister Obote more executive powers. The Buganda Lukiiko therefore conflicted with the central government of Obote leading to the crisis.
- The British influence within the Buganda agreement of 1900 and the Namirembe Agreement of 1955 caused the crisis. In 1900, the powers of the Kabaka were reduced and Buganda granted semi-federal status and the kingdoms failure to work with the protectorate led to the deportation of the Kabaka by Sir Andrew Cohen in 1953. In 1955 still, the Namirembe agreement made Muteesa II a constitutional monarchy to serve through ministers, but when Buganda attempted to forward federal aspirations, it led to the conflicts with the central government of Obote causing the crisis.
- The 1964 land Referendum about the lost counties caused the crisis. According to the 1st constitution of 1962, it had been agreed that a referendum about the two counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi was to be held two years after independence. This was to make the people of Bunyoro to decide whether to stay in Buganda or go back to bunyoro. Kabaka Mutesa II and his Lukiiko refused to sign the papers sanctioning the referendum which made Obote to use his powers and people voted to go back. This led to the conflicts between Obote and Kabaka hence leading to the crisis in 1966.
- The Dual-capacities of Kabaka Mutesa as president of Uganda and Kabaka of Buganda caused the crisis. Mutesa II put the interest of the kingdom at the fore front at the expense of the country entirely. The Lukiiko ill advised the Kabaka that he presides over all the areas politically and culturally. The Kabaka also refused to sign the referendum because he wanted to protect the interest of

Buganda yet people were to enjoy their rights as citizens hence the immaterial and personal interests of the kingdom by Mutesa led to the crisis.

- The termination of the KY- UPC alliance also caused the crisis. The alliance was forged on the eve of independence to defeat DP of Benedict Kiwanuka who was also aspiring to become a president of Uganda. The KY-UPC alliance was however a matter of convenience that didn't last for long based on political and practical manipulation. Disagreements ensued as to who had more powers between the PM and President. Obote advocated for a SOCIALIST and Unitary government while Kabaka Mutesa wanted to preserve the kingdom leading to the crisis.
- The conflicts between UPC Party accelerated the crisis of 1966. Obote faced many challenges in UPC party and in 1964 John Edward Kakonge was replaced by Grace Ibingira as the Secretary General which annoyed other party members. Also in 1965, many UPC officers like Ali Kirunda K, Kintu Musoke, Bidandi Ssali were expelled from UPC. These collaborated with Mutesa II leading to the crisis of 1966.
- The division in UPC as a party caused the crisis. It ought to be noted that there existed many groups and each had different objectives. There was a group that favored a one party of the socialist led by John Edward Kakonge (youth league) and this sided with Obote. Another group was led by Grace Ibingira-a northerner by birth and a Muganda by adoption advocated for capitalism and strict following of democratic principles. This led to clashes within the party that occasioned animosity hence the crisis.
- The gold scandal of 1966 caused the crisis. This scandal involved Obote and his army commander Amin and Felix Onama and Adoke Nekyon. It was alleged that these carried out secret business of trade dealing in gold in exchange for coffee in DRC without the consent of the members of parliament. This was a lucrative business that caused public outcry and David Ochieng, leader of opposition in parliament tabled the motion to investigate into this illegal trade when Obote

was on an upcountry tour. Obote reacted by dispatching army groups in parliament to arrest the suspects and those who supported the bill were charged with treason leading to the crisis.

- The removal of privileges from Buganda government facilitated the occurrence of the crisis of 1966. The pigeon hole constitution of Obote annoyed Buganda and Mutesa II as it declared Uganda a united country, deprived the Kabaka of all the privileges including the right to send indirectly elected members to parliament. The Buganda kingdom would no longer appoint civil servants to the different posts and the mailo land system where the chiefs got money was abolished.
- The emergence of educated elites from other parts of Uganda. These had hated the Buganda's special position in Uganda and they were from the North, East and Western parts and they also formed parties like UPU for East and West, UPC for the North to compete for political leadership based on republicanism as opposed to federalism of the Baganda. This made Obote to make a coalition with KY to assist him undermine the cultural leadership which gave rise to the crisis.
- The conflict between Monarchism and Republicanism also fueled the crisis of 1966. The interested parties of the Baganda, Banyoro, Ankole, Busoga and Tooro were in for monarchical rule and determined to preserve their cultural institutions. The increasing grip of the Nationalists like Obote preferred republicanism and upon becoming the Prime Minister, he sought to abolish monarchism which led to the crisis of 1966.
- The sour relationship between KY and DP worsened the position on the government and occasioned the crisis of 1966. Benedict Kiwanuka of DP accused KY members of not supporting him yet he was a Muganda. Therefore DP members ganged up and opposed the constitution. Kiwanuka even commented that he preferred death to being led unconstitutionally. This made Obote to react and deport the Kabaka for the 2nd time hence the crisis of 1966.

- The impact of the Kabaka's letter to the UN also explains the cause of the crisis of 1966. It is said that Mutesa II was lamenting about what had happened as his powers as his Presidency had been usurped by Obote, hence he requested the UN to intervene and stop Obote from violating the rights of the president. This letter scared Obote who acted very fast by deploying the army against Mutesa before the UN would intervene hence the crisis of 1966.
- The clashing personalities of Obote and Mutesa II also caused the crisis of 1966. It is noted that by virtue of Buganda's interest, Mutesa II was compelled to be adamant and conservative while Obote was optimistic, calculative, shrewd and foresighted. Therefore Obote made an alliance with KY to have executive powers as PM, he used his powers to recruit his tribemates into the army which assured him support he needed to attack the Mengo Palace in 1966 hence the crisis.
- The premature independence given to Uganda in 1962 equally made the crisis of 1966 inevitable. This was done without passing the Ugandan leaders through a political laboratory for practical leadership. This was exhibited by the unpractical and unprincipled alliance with selfish interests that later clashed and the crisis ensued. It's also on record that Sir Andrew Cohen remarked that;

  "I thought we still had ample time ahead of us."

- The immediate cause of the crisis was the quit note issued by the Buganda Lukiiko. This was issued on 21st May 1966 demanding the central government and Obote to leave Buganda soil within a ten days ultimatum. Obote was also supposed to transfer the capital to another part of the country hence the document made Obote to deploy his army officers under the command of Idi Amin to attack the palace and capture the Kabaka. The palace was captured and Muteesa fled to Burundi and then to London only to die in 1969.

EFFECTS OF THE KABAKA CRISIS OF 1966

- It led to the flight of Kabaka Mutesa II to exile in London through Burundi where he died in 1969. His body was brought back for state burial when Amin was the president.
- It led to the collapse of the Buganda kingdom which had been in existence for over 500 years. It perished and was only reinstated in 1993 by the NRM Government after many years in "limbo."
- The Kabaka's palace was turned into a military barracks for over thirty (30years) when the kingdom was not in existence.
- It made many Baganda ministers also to go to exile for their dear lives as they were being hunted by Obote's regime e.g. Abu Mayanja, Nkanji who was the Prime Minister of Buganda's Lukiiko.
- Obote declared a state of emergency over the country and Buganda in particular and this was to last for six Months, however he kept on postponing up to 1971 When he was overthrown by Idi Amin in a self styled manner.
- The crisis led to the abolition of kingdoms in Uganda. The 1967 constitution promulgated that all kingdoms i.e. Buganda, Ankole, Tooro, Busoga were to be abolished and it led to the arrest of cultural leaders who attempted to oppose e.g. Tito Owiny IV, Gashonga and Wilberforce Nadiope of Basoga.
- The crisis made Uganda to be declared a Republic by the constitution of 1967. This made Obote to assume full executive powers up to the time of the military coup of 1971. This very constitution had been referred to as the Pigeon-hole constitution where members of parliament never took part but only told to pick their copies.
- It led to the banning of political parties and their activities and UPC was declared a single party which was to be contained in the common man's charter of 1969. Its aim was to guide Uganda towards the socialist principles related to the Arusha declaration of 1967.
- The Buganda Monarchy's property was declared state property including the king's palace. Mengo which was the major palace of the kabaka became a

Barracks, Bulange became the republican house and the kingdom's court at Mengo also remained state owned.

- It led to the death of many innocent Ugandans through military confrontation between the central government's army and the Kabaka's forces and others died on their way to exile.
- Buganda became divided into many administrative structures e.g. East Mengo, West Masaka and Mubende and these later became districts.
- It led to the militarization of Uganda's politics. This is attributed to the successfully planned crisis that saw Muteesa II out of government, Idi Amin also felt confident to topple the government of Obote in 1971, Bazilio Okello Lutwa also organized military Juuta while Y. K Museveni organized a war that brought him to rule from 1980 – 1996 when general democratic elections were organized in Uganda.
- This crisis led to demotions and promotions in the army e.g. Shaban Opolot was demoted from being an army commander and in 1966 Idi Amin took over which brought bickering and intrigue within the central government.
- Uganda drifted to dictatorial leadership of Obote and Amin. These two leaders banned political parties, Obote declared Uganda a single party state under the dictatorship of UPC while Amin was an outright dictator without a party.
- The crisis led to the declaration of Obote's common man's charter of 1969. This was a policy guide line of Obote to make Uganda move to the left, be democratic and guard against colonialism and neo-colonialism, this policy was intended to nationalize the property where the government would have more powers however the program was managed by the people of Akokoro in Lira.

Qn

Examine the causes and effects of the Kabaka crisis of 1966.

OBOTE'S DOWNFALL/1971 COUP

A military coup can be defined as a sudden overthrow of a legitimate government by the army. It should be noted that many African countries got their independence with civilian rule educated rulers, however three (3yrs) years after independence, a wave of coups and counter coups rocked Africa and Uganda was not exceptional.

On 25th, Jan 1971 Idi Amin Dada over threw Obote who had gone to Singapore to attend a common wealth conference. The coup of 1971 was executed by Ugandan soldiers led by Idi Amin with the help of Britain and Israel and many other factors accounted for the coup.

CAUSES OF THE COUP

- The coup was caused by Obote's raising dictatorship. Obote interfered with people's freedom of expression. He detained many people without trial including ministers like Grace Ibingira, Mathias Ngobi, Ben Kiwanuka-Leader of Democratic Party (DP), Prince Badru Kakungulu and also abrogated the constitution of 1962, banned Kingdoms and failed to organize elections hence this level of dictatorship led to the coup of 1971.
- High level of tribalism and nepotism both in the Army and civil service contributed to the coup of 1971. Obote recruited his relatives e.g. Langi's and Acholi's and most soldiers were illiterate. There was the lango development plan of 1967 which ensured giving key government posts to the people from Akokoro County and Amin wanted to destroy this legacy and also get people from his region- West Nile and other parts of the country hence the coup became inevitable.
- Obote's move to the left led to the military coup of 1971. It should be noted that in 1969, Obote made pronouncement while at Nakivubo about the introduction of the common man's charter characterized by socialist policies. Obote was trying to emulate what Nyerere had done in 1967 and this annoyed Britain which professed capitalism and they supported Amin to stage a coup because of Obote's movement to the left.

- Divisionism in the army led to the coup of 1971 in Uganda. Obote's Army was divided into three units e.g. special forces, General Service Unit and the Uganda Armed Forces. The GSU was composed of 1000 Elite Soldiers headed by Obote's cousin Adoko Nekyon and were the body guards and spies of Obote. They enjoyed privileges at the expense of the regular army which annoyed Amin to stage a coup of 1971.
- The economic crisis of 1969 contributed to the military coup of 1971. Many people were very poor due to the Nationalization policy that left many unemployed. People were languishing in abject poverty, highly taxed and inflation was at the apex hence this economic hardship compelled Amin to stage the coup of 1971.
- The fall in prices due to the 1969 economic hardships led the coup. Obote's government was characterized by increased prices of essential goods like food, medicine, and clothing. People also lacked the needed revenue to buy the commodities for their welfare. Hence Amin used this to plan for the coup of 1971.
- The unemployment and economic instability contributed to the coup of 1971. Obote's government was characterized by high levels of unemployment and most of the juicy jobs were monopolized by Acholi's and Langiis from Akokoro. Ugandans had the qualifications but couldn't easily get jobs which caused resentment in the army, inflation was high and this made people not to cope up with this situation that made the coup of 1971 inevitable.
- The creation of the general service unit contributed to the coup. This was a section of the army composed of elite soldiers headed by Adoko Nekyon- Obote's cousin. It spied on the general army and was the body guard for Obote, they accumulated a lot of wealth and were very rich. Hence Amin staged the coup with a view of bringing fairness in the Army and Uganda as a whole.
- Obote's failure to call a meeting of the defense council led to the coup. The Ugandan army had many problems which ought to have been resolved by the

defense council but, Obote reluctantly refused to have any meeting and instead made promotions, demotions and transfer on his own. There was also a rumor that Amin was to be replaced by Oyite Ojok and Amin quickly responded before his replacement by staging a coup hence, Obote's failure to meet the defense council led to his downfall.

- Obote's isolationist policy contributed to the coup. It's true that Obote did not have good bilateral relations with Kenyans and Tanzanians workers whom he expelled and prevented exports from these countries. This annoyed Ugandans who could not get what they couldn't produce and these neighboring countries therefore supported the coup of 1971.
- The failure of Obote to organize elections in 1967 led to the military coup of 1971. Obote's government failed to organize elections as per the demands of the constitution. There were no signs of elections and Obote was becoming more of a dictator than a democrat. UPC candidates stood in more than one constituency for parliamentary elections and the army wouldn't tolerate this which brought discontent and this was displayed by the coup of 1971.
- Amin's failure to account for the 40 million shillings intended for the army. The auditors' general report indicated that there was gross expenditure in the army and Amin together with Felix Onama- the minister of defense were to answer. Hence Amin feared the investigations and organized the coup to block the embezzlement scandal.
- High level of corruption in Obote's government accounts for the downfall of his government in 1971. Obote placed his henchmen in all offices especially the ministers which led to the poor performance in the day to day running of the government. There were no disciplinary measures that were taken to investigate the high degree of corruption. There were so many weaknesses which people used to swindle the government funds from the public and hence corruption went unchecked and it laid a fertile ground for the coup of 1971.

- Heavy taxation of the masses led to the coup of 1971. The masses were burdened with so many taxes e.g. security tax, graduated tax, sales tax and development tax. Indeed people were very poor, the majority unemployed and this made them to get disgruntled with the government. Therefore, Amin staged a coup in order to eliminate these uncalled for taxes and bring fairness in Uganda.
- Obote's failure to control robbery and violence contributed to the coup of 1971. There was a lot of robbery and violence that cost people's lives and property. There was increased kondoism and the government took no practical action to address the plight of Ugandans. Hence Amin used this high degree of Kondoism to stage a coup.
- Amin's thirst for power contributed to the coup of 1971. It is historically known that Amin was semi educated and he had been referred to as an idiot and political buffoon. Obote made him an army commander thinking that he had no organizational ability. Amin therefore wanted to prove that he was not a coward and needed to enjoy the privileges of head of state. Amin also had a peasantry background that made him to have the mass support of the Nationals in the country.
- Personal differences between Amin and Obote led to the coup. Amin was an illiterate and Obote was a skillful leader and an elite, Obote promoted, demoted and transferred officers without the knowledge of the Army commander. Also in the Gold Scandal, Amin cheated his boss which caused tension, Obote promoted the Langis which annoyed Amin, Amin also got involved in the death of Brigadier Okaya and his wife in 1970 in Gulu town which made him to be insecure, Amin was threatened to be replaced by Oyite Ojok by the call that Obote made hence the coup of 1971.
- The protracted wangles within UPC party contributed to the coup of 1971. UPC had generated many groups that disagreed on various fundamental issues and the radicals like Bidandi Ssali, Grace Ibingira, Kirunda Kivejinja and the Baganda

conservatives had been expelled. This weakened the party and made Amin to capitalize on these wrangles hence the coup of 1971.

- Obote's intentions to arrest Amin led to the coup of 1971. Obote ordered for the arrest of Amin while in for commonwealth meeting in Singapore, unfortunately the telephone of Oyite Ojok was interrupted by a friend to Amin who quickly tapped him and they disseminated the information that made general Idi Amin to react by convincing the rest of the army officers that Obote had ordered for the demotion and arrest of all soldiers not from Akokoro that caused fear and the soldiers joined the coup.
- The impact of other successful coups in Africa led to the coup of 1971. It is on record that continental Africa was characterized by coups and counter coups in late 1960's and Uganda was not exceptional. Therefore, the success of the Togo coup of 1963, Congo 1965, Ghana 1966, Algeria 1965, Libya 1969 made Amin to become confident that he would succeed in Uganda.

Summary of the causes:

- Obote's over reliance on the army
- Tribalism/Nepotism
- Obote's move to the left/socialism
- Divisionism in the army
- Economic crisis of 1969
- Prolonged state of emergency
- Fall in prices of commodities
- Mass unemployment
- High degree of corruption
- Failure to convene the defense council meetings.
- Obote's isolationist policy
- Obote's failure to organize elections as per the provisions of the 1962 constitution.

- Heavy taxation
- Conflicts in UPC
- High degree of Kondoism/robbery
- Obote's over reliance on the army that betrayed him
- Abrogation of the 1962 constitution
- Creation of the National Service Project that made Ugandans suffer
- The redundant army
- Formation of the General Service Unit (G.S.U)

OTHER FACTORS

- Amini's thirst for power
- Amin's desire to prove his courage after the 1969 attempted assassination of Obote.
- Amin's desire to stop investigations into the death of Brigadier Okaya in Gulu town and his wife
- External factors like the support of Britain and Israel
- Other successful coups e.g. 1969 (Libya) 1966 (Ghana) and 1952 (Egyptian coup)
- Amin's fear to account for the 40 million shillings in the defense budget
- Personal differences between Obote and Amin

Qn

To what extent was Obote responsible for his own downfall?

Assignment:

- To what extent was the common man's charter of 1969 successful?
- How successful was the 1969 common man's charter?

THE ECONOMIC WAR

(EXPULSION OF ASIANS IN 1972)

The term economic war in the political history of Uganda is used to refer to the expulsion of Asians from Uganda by President Idi Amin from 4th August 1972. It ought to be noted that Asians had come to Uganda way back in 1902 during the construction of the Uganda railway, but opted to remain as business men and women after its completion, many of them became colonial administrators and the 1962 constitution legitimized them as Bonafide dual citizens of Uganda which negated the International Human rights constitution. Also the war was extended to the lives, property, interests of the departing Asians and British in Uganda.

- The expulsion of the Asians had to be done by Obote through the Nationalization of property, however, the coup did not allow him realize his dreams and Amin gave 90 days ultimatum to Asians to leave Uganda and carry property not exceeding 10kgs.

CAUSES OF THE ECONOMIC WAR

- The need to fulfill the common man's charter, it is historically factual that Obote had adopted the common man's charter to get rid of neo –colonialism. This is because Asians were operating multi-national companies like shell, Barclays, Bata and these were looked at as manifestations of neo-colonialism by Amin hence the war to get rid of the Asian exploiters.
- The desire to Ugandanise the economy, it was intended to empower the Ugandans in civil services and this made the educated and languishing citizens on the street to get jobs that were being controlled by Asians. Therefore the need to make Ugandans man their country necessitated the economic war of 1972.
- The need to reward Ugandans by Amin who supported him. Amin expelled Asians in order to get property and reward his supporters especially the Kakwa, the royal soldiers and the Moslems to create a wealthy class called the "Mafuta Mingi."
- Amin's desire to punish Britain led to the economic war of 1972. Amin had been annoyed by Britain which refused to get him military ammunitions, also Britain

refused to warmly welcome Amin when he had made a visit to Britain hence the war was intended to punish Britain.

- High degree of racism practiced by the Asians. The Asians were too discriminative in schools, hospital, residential quarters. The Asians also made life hard for Ugandans never to associate with them sexually, Asian women were restricted to love Ugandans and this annoyed Amin to expel them in 1972.
- The question of dual citizenship enjoyed by the Asians made them to be expelled from Uganda. Asians had pass ports of Bangladesh, Pakistan, Britain, India and this was against the International Human Rights hence the expulsion was inevitable.
- Desire by Amin to consolidate his power in Uganda led to the economic war of 1972. This was done to wipe out the Asians who had been a strong economic muscle and Amin feared that they would finance the Rebel activities and take over his government hence the war.
- Amin's inspiration or dream on 4th August 1972 made him to declare war on the Asians. Amin reasoned that while in Tororo, he got a divine revelation to dismiss non citizens from Uganda hence the need to actualize his dream led to the expulsion of the Asians.
- The inspiration from Gadaffi in Libya made the war inevitable. Gadaffi met Amin and advised him to expel the Asians if Uganda was to develop as he had done to expel the Europeans in 1969 from Libya.
- Amin expelled Asians because one Asian widow denied him sex. This made Africa to conclude that Asians were arrogant and superior over Africans. This humiliated Amin as a president who reacted by expelling the Asians.
- Amin's desire to end corruption led to the economic war of 1972. It should be realized that in 1969, Asians survived expulsion by Obote because of increased bribes, acquired trade license wrongly, most of the land in towns were acquired through corruption hence the need to check this corruption made the war inevitable.

- Trade inequalities brought by the Asians contributed to the economic war of 1972. Asians had a lot of capital and were controlling the export and import trade, had control of wholesale trade and retail businesses which limited the Ugandans to have room for business. The Asians also smuggled goods into Uganda, evading the taxes which annoyed Amin to chase them away and he said;

  "Asians milked the cow which they never fed."

- The need for economic independence in Uganda led to the war. Amin reasoned that political independence without economic independence was useless. The British had controlled the multi-National Companies like Bata, Barclays bank, shell and employed Asians. This made Amin to remark thus;

  "If they don't remember us for any good thing, they will at least remember us for having given Uganda her economic independence''.

EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC WAR

NEGATIVE EFFECTS:

- The expulsion of Asians made Uganda to join the list of the racist countries in the world e.g. the international community looked at Uganda as a discriminative country in relation to color and this led to the withdraw of relationships from Uganda i.e. America and Europe.
- Asians lost a lot of their property e.g. shops, houses and big investments like industries because they were not allowed to carry property more than 10kgs. Therefore, the Asians left property worth 500 million dollars that was plundered by the Ugandans.
- It was a final blow to British colonialism between 1972 –1979 because Asians who implemented the British colonial policies had been expelled. This made Britain to resort to de-campaigning Uganda through the international community.

- It led to the collapse of the production sector since Ugandans who were left to manage the industries lacked the managerial skills, the country lacked foreign currency to transact international business like dollars, pounds and this led to the development of the "Bibanda'' system due to failure to have established foreign exchange bureaus.
- Uganda became a dumping ground for Kenya's finished low quality goods because she did not have other sources to get consumer goods. This is attributed to the breakdown of industries and therefore Uganda had no alternative of getting consumer goods which greatly affected the lives of people.
- There was Africanisation of Uganda's Economy when Amin put the formerly owned enterprises by the Asians in the hands of Ugandans. This led to the creation of a new class of rich men known as "Mafuta Mingi" in Uganda.
- It led to the imposition of economic sanctions against Uganda. In this way, Uganda's export were not allowed to be sold anywhere in the world and the European countries refused to extend aid to Uganda. This caused economic crisis leading to the breakdown of Uganda's economy.
- The expulsion of the Asians led to increased smuggling between Uganda, Kenya and DRC boarders when the cheap goods that were sold by Asians had disappeared. This brought in the aspect of "Magendoism" which affected Uganda's Balance of payment position.
- Due to the economic war, many soldiers in Uganda turned to business and became managers of the formerly controlled Asian business e.g. David Oyite Ojok became the manager of Uganda marketing Board without any serious background of agriculture.
- There was decline in the capital inflow into the country since many investors were not ready to risk investing in Uganda. Therefore the phobia against investment was prevalent in the country that affected Uganda's economic growth and investment.

- Uganda's relationship with Britain, India and Israel worsened because of the economic war. These countries sponsored rebel activities against Amin that finally led to this downfall in 1979.
- The expulsion of the Asians affected the agricultural sector in Uganda. The Agro based industries that were in the hands of the Asians were mismanaged, Ugandans would not get fertilizers from outside countries to boast the agricultural sector and this increased the rate of unemployment in the country.
- It led to the loss of lives of Ugandans who had collaborated with the Asians, many Asians committed suicide, others threw themselves in Lake Victoria just because of the limited time given to them to quit the country.
- It led to the depopulation of Uganda since Asians comprised of almost half the population of Uganda. Therefore their departure reduced on Uganda's population in industries and education sectors.
- It made Idi Amin to win popularity among Ugandans who had hated the Asians. Amin also rewarded Ugandans for helping him to send away the Asians by giving them businesses in Kampala to manage shops and groceries that lasted for a very short time.
- It made Amin to make an alliance with the Arab world since most Western powers had isolated Uganda, Libya, Iraq and Saudi Arabia started financing the development programs in Uganda that even led to the ground breaking of the old kampala muslim mosque.

THE REIGN OF IDI AMIN

After he took over Uganda's government in January 1971 and ruled as a military dictator for 8 years up to 1979, he has been described as the Hitler of Africa and upon assumption of power, he suspended all political activities, empowered the armed forces to arrest or shoot on sight any suspected opponents.

- Amin used terror as a political survival strategy where the technique of disappearance of prominent opponents was in place. He achieved for Uganda as

a re-traditionalizer and upholder of African culture, but left a lot to be desired as he was disaster to **human rights.**

ACHIEVEMENTS OF AMINI DADA

- **Amin set up an administrative** hierarchy of chiefs from the grass root that showed democratic principles.
- He introduced the re-traditionalization policy that improved the morals among Ugandans e.g. banning mini-skirts and trousers for women.
- Amin fought corruption and those found guilty were brought to book.
- He introduced the land reforms in 1975 that regulated land ownership in Uganda.
- He nationalized/put the economy in the hands of Ugandans after the economic war of 1972.
- He developed infrastructure e.g. schools, hospitals & established the National teachers colleges spread all over Uganda.
- He defended Uganda from the external invasion in 1972, 1973 when the Kikosi Maluma and the FRONOSA of Museveni fought from Tanzania.
- He reduced the internal robbery commonly known as "Kondoism" and robbers were killed on spot using the State Research Bureau (SRB)
- Amin promoted sports and made Uganda Cranes to reach finals in 1978.
- He returned the remains/body of the Kabaka for reconciliation though it did not go well with the Baganda.
- He encouraged self-help projects in Uganda/Public works that promoted social interaction.
- There was some relative peace promoted though some people were killed in cold blood.
- Amin boosted the position of Uganda by hosting the O.A.U summit in Uganda where he served as a chairman and this increased Uganda's popularity on the African continent.

- Amin developed the religious institution in Uganda e.g. he built the Uganda Muslim Supreme Council mosque at Old Kampala, he donated vehicles to Namirembe Diocese and Rubaga Cathedral.

FACTORS FOR THE DOWNFALL OF AMIN – WEAKNESSES

- **High degree of dictatorship**
- Murder or violation of human rights e.g. he killed Benedict Kiwanuka, Frank Kalimuzo- the Vice Chancellor of Makerere, Archbishop Jonan Luwum.
- Tribalism and nepotism i.e. the massive inclusion of the Kakwas, Lugbras and Anyanya into the Army without credentials.
- His expansionist policy e.g. in 1976, he claimed western Kenya to be part of Uganda, conflicted with Nyerere at Kagera hence his downfall.
- International isolation/conflict with the Western Imperialists e.g. Britain, Israel and India who sponsored rebel activities together with the Tanzania people's Defense Forces to Oust Amin from power.
- Religious intolerance e.g he favored Muslims and disrespected majority Christians, he made Friday a public holiday that affected the day to day operations.
- The spy network of Idi Amin that killed people in Uganda made Ugandans to hate his government.
- Establishment of rebel activities/groups i.e. Kikosi Maluma led by Obote and his supporters, FRONOSA led by Museveni Kaguta and the UNLF led to his downfall in 1979.
- The collapse of the economy that created a black market in Uganda and led to rationing of commodities regardless of the ability to pay made Amin's government to become unpopular.
- Amin's banning of political parties and failure to organize elections for 8 years, failure to return to civilian leadership made his government unpopular.

- High degree of human rights abuse e.g. constant killings, making people eat bars of soap and slippers made people to get disgruntled hence his downfall.

Qn

"The over throw of Idi Dada Amin in 1979 was inevitable''. Discuss

Asses the achievements of the military rule in Uganda between 1971-1979

"Idi Amin was primarily responsible for his own downfall". Discuss

MILITARY COUPS IN POST INDEPENDENT STATES

A military coup is a sudden over throw of a recognized and legitimate government by the Army. It should be noted that in 1960's, Africa was characterized by coups that swept across the continent. This state of affairs was because many countries had elite and civilian leaders whose education was based on Western origin.

- It ought to be noted that civilian rule dominated politics and this was punctuated by elites who thought that they would man the leadership and forget the role of the armed forces.
- The majority of coups in Africa were caused by power greed and rivalry rather than reform. These coups included; Libya 1969, Togo 1963 and 1967, Ethiopia 1974, Ghana 1966 and 1972 and Nigeria 1966 etc.

CAUSES OF COUPS IN AFRICA

- The mistakes committed by the colonial masters account for the coups in Africa. The colonial masters granted independence to Africans without adequately preparing them for effective leadership. Leaders were prematurely prepared and this excitement sowed the seeds of future disturbances e.g. Belgians failed to prepare Congo which led to the problems of Mobutu's coup in 1965, the constitutional errors in Uganda and Nigeria that promoted minority interests that laid a fertile ground for coups in Africa.

- The policy of divide and rule method undermined the unity and stability that led to the coups in Africa. This was a mistake also by the colonialists e.g. the Belgians drafted a constitution that promoted ethnic nationalism (Katanga Secession), in Nigeria and Uganda similar constitutions created unfavorable conditions that led the army to take over government in 1960's and 1970's.
- The rise of dictators in Africa led to coups. It should be noted that shortly after independence, the leaders who came to power were civilians who led to the intervention of the army in state affairs. The elite leaders sacrificed democracy, adopted dictatorship, manipulated constitutions to consolidate themselves in power. This created a complicated system of power change that made army to intervene e.g. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and Milton Obote were removed due to dictatorial styles.
- The political rivalry among politicians was responsible for the coups in Africa. Political parties that were formed to fight for independence were divided on grounds of religion, ethnicity and regionalism and they recruited the armies basing on these differences. This also made African leaders to have different army sections with one being favored as the presidential guard. This situation conditioned mistrust, tension and suspicion that made the army officers to elevate themselves forcefully e.g. 1971 in Uganda, 1966 in Ghana and 1963 in Togo.
- Sectarianism and regionalism was also responsible for the coups in Africa. Shortly after independence, most African leaders gave key government posts to their relatives and tribesmen to consolidate their power. This fueled discontent among the Africans as corruption went unchecked and the governments became unpopular which the army used as an excuse e.g. Nasser toppled king Farouk in 1952 because the Wafds had dominated the politics, Obote used the langis, Haile Selassie used Amhara that led to the 1974 coup.
- Ethnicity in the army also caused coups in Africa. The African army was marred by ethnicism in order to promote the narrow interest of a small section. This

ethnicity was prevalent in Nigeria in 1966 when the Ibo promoted regionalism, Mengistu of Ethiopia organized the 1974 military coup to check Selassie's Henchmen and in July 1966, the Hausa and Fulani organized a coup in Nigeria.

- The high degree of corruption and abuse of office contributed to coups in Africa. Many African leaders tended to use state resources to generate a lot of wealthy which bred discontent among the army and Nationals. This made leaders to plunder the country's resources and thrived on bribery and corrupt tendencies. This condition left the majority poor including the army and coups were organized to check the corruption and abuse of office e.g. Mobutu of Zaire in 1965 and Nkrumah losing power in 1966.
- The economic hardships that characterized most parts of Africa led to coups. There was rampant unemployment, poverty and inflation that characterized African countries and made prices of goods to fluctuate beyond reasonable degrees e.g. cocoa in Ghana. This made many countries to fail to have meaningful programs to help their citizens. It was compounded by lavish and extravagant leaders who did not mind about the Nationals, but their party members e.g. CPP in Ghana, UPC in Uganda and Amhara in Ethiopia.
- Nationality threats also conditioned coups in Africa. The leaders turned to consolidate themselves and sidelined the army in the political management of the affairs of the country. This brought disorder and loss of life as it was in Uganda in 1971 coup organized by Idi Amini when Obote sidelined him, the 1966 Ghanaian coup was organized due to Nkrumah's negligence of the army.
- Ideological differences equally caused coups in Africa. The civilian leaders tended to get inclined to west capitalism or East communism and this brought conflicts. Nkrumah was toppled in 1966 due to his socialist tendencies, Obote was toppled by Amin after launching the common man's charter with socialist inclinations, USA backed Mobutu in 1965 to topple Kasavubu, the 1974 coup in Ethiopia was engineered by USSR against Sellasie, hence lack of African based ideologies and attachment to alien policies led to the coups.

- The influence of colonialism and neo-colonialism caused coups in Africa. The Europeans created governments that would serve their interests and those that failed to implement their policies were fought e.g. USA fought Patrice Lumumba in Congo in 1960 and supported Mobutu in 1965, the British supported Idi Amin in 1971. This was compounded by neo-colonialism under the pretext of foreign governments and companies assisting Africans e.g. the oil Companies in Libya that left the Nationals languishing in object poverty and led to the 1969 coup against King Idris that served the interest of the colonialists in the totality.
- The culture of the gun as an instrument of power promoted coups in Africa. The emergence of military rule in Africa undermined civilian rule and laid a fertile ground for coups. The failures of civilian governments to respect the army led to discontent that made the governments to be over thrown e.g. the 1952 coup against king Farouk, 1971 against Obote and 1966 against Nkrumah.
- The success of other coups in Africa partly contributed to coups. The wave and tides at which coups moved across Africa and their success influenced other coups to be staged e.g. the success of the 1952 coup in Egypt inspired other coups e.g. 1966 Ghana and Nigerian coups, 1969 – Libyans, 1960 – and 65 – Congo, 1965 – Algeria were all influenced by successful coups in Africa.
- Foreign visits partly contributed to coups in Africa. The visits by the presidents of Africa laid a fertile ground for the armies to depose the legitimate governments e.g. while in Singapore, Obote was showed exit, NKRUMAH was also overthrown while in Turkey.

MULTI – PARTY SYSTEMS/DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Multi – party politics or systems refer to the existence of more than one party in a country.

Or:

A system where political parties are allocated to contest for National leadership without restrictions in a given country

QN

To what extent has the Multi-Party Political System met the aspirations of the independent African states?

- Define multi – party system
- Give and explain the aspirations of independent African states
- Give the degree to which multi-partism has achieved the aspirations of the people
- Failures of the multi – party system
- Standpoint

ASPIRATIONS OF MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY

- Promotion of freedom of choice
- Promotion of fundamental human rights
- Enhancing unity and diversity
- Promote competition in politics for national development
- To match with the IMF policies for development
- To promote liberalization and privatization policies
- To provide alternative leadership (cheques and balances) e.g. the free operation of arms of government i.e. executive, legislative and judiciary.
- To promote the smooth transfer of power i.e. promotion of functional democracy.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF MULTI-PARTY IN AFRICA

- It has promoted peaceful transfer of power in most countries of Africa. This has guaranteed effective functional democracy in Tanzania from Nyerere, to Hassan Mwinyi, to Mkapa, to Jakaya Kikwete, in Kenya, South Africa from Nelson Mandela, Thambo Mbeki and finally to Jacob Zuuma.
- It has undermined the dictatorship of one party rule in Africa. Single party systems always oppress, arrest, detain opposition leaders without trial like in Kenya in 1970's when Oginga Odinga, George Anyona were arrested but in 1992

Moi and KANU were removed by a formidable opposition led by NARC to Mwai Kibaki to adopt Multi-party in Kenya.

- It has promoted civilian rule in African countries of Kenya, Senegal and other parts of Africa. Multi party politics has made civilian leaders to access power as leaders of states and members of parliament which has worked for people.
- There has been mass participation in politics through regular and fair elections. This has been witnessed in Senegal where a large percentage of nationals get involved in the election of their leaders without regret.
- Multi party systems have promoted fundamental human rights in independent African countries. These are evident in Tanzania, Senegal, Ghana e.g. freedom of association, movement, speech and respect of the media and media houses professional reporting.
- It has ensured the promotion of liberal democratic rule in Africa. Countries like Tanzania, Kenya have had competitive and live debates in parliament that have yielded positively towards the development of their respective countries.
- Multi party systems have improved relations with IMF and the World Bank. This has worked in Senegal and Tanzania where funds are put to their rightful use without mismanagement in terms of funding problems and alleviating chronic diseases.
- Multi party systems have compelled the ruling parties to be highly accountable to the masses. This is very common in South Africa, Tanzania and Ghana where there are peaceful elections held; the incumbents have always worked for the people to ensure continuity and longevity of their terms in government.
- Independent African countries have attracted aid from the western powers for development attributed to multi party democracy. The development countries of Europe have encouraged the adoption of western model of democracy that ensures uniform and balanced democracy for the goods of the citizens.
- It has weakened ethnic tendencies and promoted National Unity. Most of the parties have cut across regions, tribes and religion and have brought so many

people on board for National development. This has been seen in Tanzania in Chama cha Mapenduzi formed in 1967 after merging afro-Shirazi Party and TANU.

- It has promoted National economic development through liberal economic policies. The policies in such governments are uniform and deliberated upon e.g. developing industrialization in Kenya, South Africa and Ghana.
- Multi party systems have promoted stability and peace. This is seen in Tanzania, Ghana after the numerous coups and Senegal. This has ensured development un-interrupted in these countries which is a precursor in these countries.
- Corruption has been minimized in countries that have adopted multi-party democracy e.g. Senegal, exercised the aspect of smart leadership as many have always been tried for the crimes connected to economic blunders during their terms of office e.g. Malawi and Zambia.
- Multi party systems expose the weakness of ruling parties. This is evident in Kenya Uganda, Senegal etc. the excess of the ruling party like NRM have always been checked by the parties of FDC, CP, DP etc, in Kenya NARC and ODM have always brought plausible reforms for constructive development.
- The rampant occurrence of coups have been checked due to the practice of multi-partism countries like Ghana, Nigeria, DRC and Uganda witnessed unprincipled coups due to lack of for a for discussion. The political dispensation in these countries has helped to make leaders accountable and allow the citizens to express their voices.

FAILURES:

- It has compounded the existence of undemocratic intolerance towards opposition. In countries like Uganda, Kenya, DRC, the opposition has been grossly disregarded, there are arbitrary arrests for tramped up cases without provision in the National constitution of these counties e.g. handling the opposition leaders on police vehicles without respect of their rights.

- The system of multi-partsim has led to rigging of elections in independent African countries. This was witnessed in Ghana (1964), Uganda (1980 to date), Kenya (2007). This is done through under funding voter education not to have adequate information, intimidation by the army used by the incumbent, political patronage etc.
- It has promoted disunity between regions, tribes and religions. Some parties have been founded on religion and tribal basis e.g. democratic party in Uganda for the Catholics and Baganda. Others not balancing political appointments regionally which has caused intrigue within the party and the public
- Multi – party system is very expensive to manage for the independent African countries for effective operation, multi-party system requires civil education about the advantages of the system up to the grass roots, African countries cannot ably fund 50% of their budget and therefore expense on multi-party is compromised.
- Multi-party systems have failed to eliminate corruption and mismanagement of National resources. The party in power tries to consolidate itself by bribery and swindling billions of money, ms using the international grants as they are not sure of their continued stay in power e.g. Uganda, Kenya etc.
- It has encouraged the dictatorship of the majority in Parliament. This is very common in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and South Africa were majority of the MP's belong to the ruling party and are given money to canvass for votes using national resources. In African parliament there is sack of objectivity on politics, a lot of rubber stamping of justify the wishes of the ruling government.
- It has led to the delay in decision making
- It has promoted neo colonialism i.e. different parties being funded by outside donor countries to support their policies e.g. Germany, Russia, China, UK and Americans. This has no lasting effects on African leadership.

Qn

1. Examine the merits and demerits of multi party democracy in any one African country

2. "Multi party political system is the most suitable from the government for the independent African states." Discuss

3. Account for the resumption of Multi party political activities in Kenya by 1992

The agitation and pressure for multi party democracy were mounted in the early 1990's. this was led by radical politicians, academics, professionals and clergy men including Jaramoji Oginga Odinga, Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba, Raila Odinga, Wangan Manthai, Reverend TImonty Njoya, Bishop Alexander Mugei etc.

In 1992, there was constitutional amendment that restored multi partyisum that led to the removal of Arab Moi and KANU from power by the unity of opposition i.e. National Rainbow coalition (NARC) headed by Mwai Kibaki who established government in 2003 other parties in Kenya included ODM (Orange Democratic Movement) by Raila Odinga and party of National Unity (PNU)

Multi party activities were resumed in Kenya due to the following;

- The alleged election rigging of March 1988 where candidates with short Mlolongo (queues) were declared winners compelled the people of Kenya to adopt Multi party democracy.
- KANU's failure to accept positive criticism for the people. These people were always grilled, suspended, expelled and incarcerated without trial which created a fertile ground for volatile opposition e.g. after 1978, following the death of Kenyatta, Moi had adopted violent and repressive policies against the opponents.
- The development in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (the end of cold war politics) the ideological wars had helped to accentuate a one party system in Kenya which disappeared with the end of cold war and opened up multi party democracy.

- Pressure from the international donor community e.g. World Bank and IMF. These international bodies have always set conditions for aid and adoption of multi party and this forced Kenya to adopt multi party system in order to get aid.
- Influence from other African countries like Zambia led to resumption of multi party democracy in Kenya. President Kenneth Kaunda had opened up multi party, the nationals were allowed to compete for elections and it led to the emergence of political parties e.g. United Progressive Party (UPP), multi party Demo (MMS).
- The role of multi party activists like Clergy, politicians and renowned lawyers and journalists who mounted pressure for change e.g. Rail Odinga, Bishop Henry Okulu, Mwai Kibaki etc.
- The July 1990 Sabasaba riots in Nairobi and other towns in which people were arrested and killed made Kenya to adopt multi party. People like Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba, Raila Odinga were arrested, others were assassinated and this mounted a lot of pressure on the government to open up political space in 1992.
- The Saitoti review commission and its subsequent recommendations led to multi party system in Kenya. The committee recommended a lot of reforms but the KANU government and Moi failed to adopt the recommendations forwarded by the people. This annoyed the largest number of people who pressed for multi party politics that would bring fundamental changes.
- The ethnic rivalry in Kenya accounts for the resumption of multi party politics. It is true that upon the ascendance to power of President Daniel Arap Moi in 1978, he showed signs of tribal repression e.g. the Kalenjin community against other tribes. This led to abortive coups in 1982, arrests, detentions hence the urge for multi party systems in Kenya.
- The increased levels of education in Kenya accounts for multi party democracy in 1992. Kenyans have acquired education much higher compared to the 3 East African countries. Kenya has a cross section of professionals like journalists, teachers, lawyers and economic who exercise the highest intellect in political

development in Kenya and world over. These demanded for multi party democracy e.g. Raila Odinga Mwai Kibaki etc.

- The promotion of the principles of human rights e.g. freedom of association, speech, free and fair reporting by the media, freedom to choice in politics without dues (force).
- Legislation of multi party democracy in 1990 due to the adoption of radical approaches by intellectuals like Masinde Muliro, Charity Ngilu, Ibrahim Mohammed that forced President Moi to effect constitutional amendments.
- The collapse of the society union in 1990 that had supported the idea of single party politics in Kenya.
- Failure of the single party government (KANU) in Kenya to check on the corruption and mismanagement of the public funds. This created from for political activism in Kenya.
- Multi partism was adopted to alleviate the problems in Kenya's civil service and check on brain drain. This was intended to check the human resource flight and create employment for the Kenyans.
- The untiremly death of Jomo Kenyatta and other believers in single party politics like Nyerere led to multi party politics in Kenya. Kenyatta had been respected and had neutralized tribal conflicts, his death plunged the country through into political chaos that was an impediment to democracy.
- Multi partism was adopted as an attempt to attract the Kenyan elites from the Diaspora back to Kenya and take up leadership roles e.g. Mwai Kibaki from Makerere University as a lecturer to become President of Kenya.
- The effects of globalization which is a new world order that takes into account the respect for human rights, gender sensitivity and empowerment. These forces made Kenya to adopt multi party democracy.
- The pressure from trade unions made Moi to open up for political space. The trade unions world over represent the interest of the working class and fight for

their welfare. The trade unions in Kenya had a leveled ground that made Moi to open up the space for political pluralism.

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid came to refer to the policy of racial segregation of the blacks by the minority whites of South Africa.

The policy of apartheid emphasized separate development between the whites and non whites. The policy was officialised by Doctor Daniel Malan in 1948 and survived up to 1994 when South Africa held elections won by Nelson Mandela.

The architects of the policy were Afrikaner nationalists like Strijdom, Vorster, and Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd.

Question

Account for the adoption of the apartheid policy in South Africa in 1948.

1. The master race arrogance of the Boers in South Africa made apartheid inevitable. The Boers believed that they were a superior race and could not mix with the blacks. The whites reasoned that in order to maintain the master race, Africans could not even be enfranchised.
2. The desire for cheap labor source laid a foundation for apartheid. The whites had established plantations, opened up mines and set up industries and all these needed cheap labor supply to make profits. This created a platform to dominate the blacks to racially discriminate them as they were inferior.
3. The influence of the Dutch Reformed church also made Apartheid inevitable .This church was dominated by the whites who argued that God created the whites first and the blacks later. This meant that the two races were not equal. The whites had a divine law to dominate the blacks hence launching the apartheid policy.
4. The need to prevent the spread of the British Liberalism. The British occupation of south Africa led to numerous reforms like extending Franchise to the blacks, coloreds and Asians,

liberalizing the economy and allow all races to enjoy all the services like education and health. This was hated by the Boers and upon coming to power in 1948; a racist policy was adopted to check British liberalism.

5. Economic blessings of South Africa prompted the launch of apartheid. The whites wanted to exploit the resources such as the mineral deposits like copper, gold at Kimberley and Johannesburg, the whites wanted to exclude Africans making apartheid inevitable.
6. The need to maintain the purity of the whites led to the adoption of apartheid. This was reflected in marriages between the whites and non-whites that was prohibited i.e. the mixed marriage act, the native resettlement act of 1954 that sent away Africans from Johannesburg to Soweto with poor facilities as a reserve for Africans.
7. The need to find a solution to the possible future racial conflicts led to apartheid. The whites launched apartheid as a means to safe guard themselves against the possible clashes of races. The whites had lessons of the Zulu defeat during the wars with Shaka and wanted to avoid such bad memories. Apartheid was adopted as a protective measure to become militarily, financially and politically strong.
8. The impact of communism that had succeeded in Russia and spread in Europe was a major factor for apartheid. Majority blacks and the poor whites in South Africa became disgruntled, hated the rich class in South Africa and deserved to have a classless society. This situation made the white leaders to introduce a racist policy to curb down the disgruntled groups.
9. The white misinterpretation of justice laid a foundation for apartheid in South Africa. The whites were the custodians of justice and used to discharge it to the non whites. Justice was only restricted to the white race that was civilized and worthy living. The blacks were to be detained without trial as the laws did not favour them hence apartheid being enacted.

REASONS FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THE APARTHEID REGIME (1948-1994)

The reasons for the survival of the apartheid regime are the same as the challenges or problems faced by Africans in the fight against the racist regime.

They include the following:

1. The enactment of a bulk of racist oppressive laws weakened Africans. The laws included the marriage laws that prohibited races not to mix, the communist act that made Africans to be

imprisoned for over 10 years, religious acts that made Africans not to attend church services with whites. All these blocked the interaction delaying independence.

2. The disunity and infighting within the Africans prolonged the apartheid regime. This was very evident in the political parties formed like ANC formed in 1912, PAC that broke away from ANC led by Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe and the Zulu Inkatha which promoted the Zulu interests. Also some leaders collaborated with the white regime creating a situation that was exploited by the whites.
3. The military strength of the apartheid regime undermined African independence. The whites had a well-trained army, well equipped with modern weapons to suppress the ill trained blacks not equipped and disorganized on party politics hence the survival of apartheid.
4. The arrest and detention of anti apartheid personalities prolonged the apartheid regime. The whites arrested the black nationalists like Steve Biko who even died in police custody, Nelson Mandela was arrested for 27 years for staging demonstrations and strikes, Oliver Thambo was forcefully exiled yet he was the chair person of ANC. This created a shaky ground for nationalistic activities.
5. The ban on anti-apartheid political parties was also an obstacle for Africans. The 1960 Sharpeville demonstrations made the whites to act ruthlessly, they banned the activities of ANC and PAC, curfews and state of emergence were declared on South Africa. The restriction of political activities limited interaction among the blacks delaying the independence.
6. Africans were disenfranchised in South Africa and this accounts for apartheid survival. The proponents of the racist regime like Strijdom, Verwoerd denied Africans the voting rights and could not get leaders to represent their voices limiting opportunities to democracy until 1994.
7. The influence of the cold war politics on the continent helped to prolong apartheid. South Africa became a hub of super powers of USA with their ideologies of capitalism and communism. The capitalist countries aided the apartheid regime and the black Africans got connected to the communist countries. This affected the decolonization process of South Africa until 1994.
8. The presence of the multinational companies in South Africa created a fertile ground for apartheid survival. Various British and American companies had invested like the Barclays

Bank, Ford motors, Coca cola international and Shell. These companies supported the racist regime to guarantee their long profitability.

9. The delayed independence of South Africa's neighbors' weakened the strategy for independence. These countries like Namibia where apartheid had been extended, the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique got independence in 1975, Zimbabwe got independence in 1980 and the UDI government had suppressed them. Also, the independent states had post independence problems like civil wars hence delaying the independence of South Africa up to 1994.
10. The establishments of the Triumvirate alliance made the apartheid survive up to 1994. The alliance was a composition of rigid dictators like Ian Smith, Hendrik Verwoerd and Don Salazar. It was offensive and militaristic in approach and extended the necessary support to each other if confronted by Africans. This weakened the Africans not to attain self rule before 1994.
11. The creation of the Bantustans also worked against Africans. These were homelands aimed at disuniting and disconnecting Africans. These included Transkei and the blacks could treat each other as enemies and the conditions of living were far from good, i.e. isolated blacks from active politics hence prolonging apartheid.
12. The role of the spy network of the whites undermined the African independence. There existed the Bureau of state security (Boss) and the parliamentary internal security Commission (PISCO). African activities were crashed before actual involvement of the masses due to prior knowledge by the security organs.
13. The assassination of the African leaders made apartheid to survive up to 1994. The blacks who raised their voices for the black majority rule like Steve Biko was killed in police custody in 1977 as a result of the Soweto uprising, Chris Hans was also killed. This scared the level of political activism until 1994.
14. The détente policy introduced by the Prime Minister Verwoerd discouraged Africans. This policy was adopted after 1961 when South Africa had been expelled from common wealth. South Africa went into alliance with some countries like Israel to get military weapons e.g. jet fighters to silence the blacks.

15. The collaboration some African countries with the racist regime empowered apartheid. Countries like Malawi under Kamuzu Banda worked with the apartheid regime and became a trade partner and this undermined the spirit of Pan Africanism.
16. The non-violent methodology used by Africans in the early stages strengthened apartheid. Africans employed the Ghandism strategy that promoted peaceful demonstrations, strikes against the ruthless whites who used the police. Violent strategies were adopted late by ANC and PAC through the formation of **UMKHONTO WE SIZWE** (spear of the nation) and POQO.
17. The grinding poverty of Africans was a major obstacle. Africans were restricted to manual labor in the mines paid on meager wages, not allowed to form trade unions to advocate for the welfare of workers. The land of Africans had been grabbed for plantation agriculture and the whites became economically strong hence survival of apartheid.
18. Existence of conservative leaders in South Africa made the survival f apartheid inevitable. These included Dr. Daniel Malan, Verwoerd and P.W Botha. These suppressed the black activities without mercy hence delaying the black majority rule.
19. The poor education given to the blacks in South Africa undermined independence. The blacks were meant to attend inferior schools and this lowered their competition with the whites. Also the education curriculum had very hard subjects leading to high rate of failure, teaching in foreign languages that negatively affected the blacks.
20. The weaknesses of the organisation of African Unity (OAU). This body was formed with the cardinal aim of the decolonization of the continent, but failed to destroy the apartheid regime in repressive policies, OAU was financially weak to support the parties of ANC and PAC, and the member countries like Angola, Mozambique got internal problems after independence hence leaving the blacks helpless.
21. The double standards of UNO also consolidated the apartheid regime. The UNO members were supposed to impose hard and strict sanctions on the racist regime in South Africa. UNO members like Britain and USA imposed half baked sanctions due to hidden motives of investors and therefore, the Africans were not helped to set up black government due to the double standards of UNO.

QUESTIONS

1. Account for the delay in the attainment of black majority in South Africa up to 1994.
2. To what extent were the internal factors responsible for the delayed attainment of the black majority rule in South Africa?

FACTORS FOR THE COLLAPSE /DEFEAT OF APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. The collapse of the cold war politics led to the defeat of apartheid in South Africa of apartheid in South Africa. Cold war collapsed by 1990 with a final blow of the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989. This ended the ideological conflicts in South Africa between the capitalists and the communists that even aided the racist regime.
2. The influence of the press, mass media and musicians weakened the apartheid regime. Robert Sobukwe was an editor who wrote articles attacking the racist regime, peter Abrahams also condemned the regime, the artists like Lucky Dube, Yvonne Chaka Chaka also composed songs like ‘’Different colors, one people’’, Brenda Fassie etc. these attracted international sympathy to fight the regime.
3. The impact of the Soweto uprising of 1976-77 impacted negatively on the racist regime. It was a militant approach to the whites when students in South Africa protested from university and lower primary to criticize the education system of the racist regime. The apartheid regime reacted badly and arrested the leaders of BCM i.e. Steve Biko which was condemned internationally hence weakening the regime.
4. The positive role of OAU and the frontline states led to the defeat of apartheid. OAU member states provided asylum to the nationalists of South Africa, put pressure on the regime and even tried to smuggle Mandela in 1962 to attend a Pan African meeting organized by the frontline states aimed at weakening the apartheid regime.
5. The role of Nelson Mandela helped to weaken the apartheid regime. Mandela accepted to be imprisoned for 27 years, he offered free legal services to the Africans who had been arrested, wrote anti- apartheid regime articles, he accepted leadership in ANC upon his release in 1990 and led south Africa to a landslide victory in the elections organized in 1994.
6. Steve Biko’s fundamental role led to the collapse of the apartheid regime. Biko founded the Black conscious movement (BCM), the South African student’s organisation (SASO), called upon the rural population of the country to rebel, and organized a trust fund aimed

at helping the disadvantaged Africans. This weakened the apartheid regime in South Africa.

7. The role of other nationalists like Albert Luthuli, Chris Hans helped to weaken the apartheid regime. Albert was a school teacher and a chief in the Zulu land; he became a member of the ANC and led to a series of boy cots like the increased bus fares of the whites to walk for months to places of work. Albert organized Africans to demand for their rights like making Africans to be the legitimate settlers of South Africa leading to the collapse of apartheid.
8. The role of the common wealth of nations led to the collapse of the apartheid regime. The body made South Africa to be suspended from membership in 1986, the body imposed sanctions on South Africa to cut off her links with other countries. The South Africans were denied passports by African countries and this isolation pressurized the regime to grant independence in 1994.
9. The liberal policies of Fredrick De clerk contributed to the collapse of the apartheid regime. He came to power in 1989 and released Nelson Mandela in 1990, he lifted the ban on political parties like ANC and PAC and legitimized political activities of the blacks, he also organized the 1994 general elections won by Nelson Mandela and even accepted to serve in the black led government
10. The role played by women like Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu led to the collapse of apartheid. Winnie Mandela got involved in the political activities of liberation of South Africa and had organisations of both women and youth to dismantle the apartheid regime.
11. The cardinal role of the Anglican church under Bishop Desmond Tutu defeated the apartheid regime. The church used the platform of the Bishop to condemn the evils of the racist regime whose punishment was hell fire, the church provided a home for the suffering Africans, gave medical care to displaced Africans and gave material support to the liberation fighters. Desmond got an accolade internationally for his role in fighting for human rights hence collapse of apartheid.
12. The independence of the neighboring countries led to the collapse of the apartheid regime. Countries like Namibia got independence in 1990, Angola and Mozambique in 1975 and Zimbabwe in 1980. These countries extended moral, political and financial

support to the nationalists by giving opportunity to the guerilla fighters to have training bases.

13. The impact of the Mac Milan speech of 1960 tried to lay the ground of the collapse of the apartheid regime. The speech delivered by Macmillan in south Africa at the cape increased the black consciousness and renewed demand for independence.
14. The collapse of the triumvirate alliance led to defeat of the apartheid regime. Hendrik Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966, Don Salazar became paralyzed in 1968 and this weakened the gang of the repressive leaders providing a foundation of the collapse of apartheid in 1994
15. The role of the political parties like ANC and PAC with their military wings of UMKHONTO We sizwe and POQO.
16. The positive role of the UNO that imposed sanctions to the racist regime, extended support to the black nationalists.

- The role of the OAU and its liberation committee.
- The role of the NAM that helped to criticize the super powers and led to the collapse of the cold war.
- The formation of the SADC in 1979 that extended financial support to the liberation fighters.
- Role of the world council of churches.
- Influence of the Olympics committee that expelled South Africa from participating in the world games.
- The impact of the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.
- The positive role of trade Unions like COSATU (Congress of South African trade unions.
- Change in government in Britain i.e. Thatcher to John Major.
- The atrocities committed by the apartheid regime made Africans to step up their efforts to demand for their rights etc.

Questions

1. Account for the collapse of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994.
2. Examine the factors for the defeat of the minority regime in South Africa in 1994.

THE ROLE OF NELSON MANDELA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

Mandela was born on 18th July 1918 to an aristocratic family of a Tembo chief at Umtata in Transkei. He qualified with a Bachelor of Arts degree and they met with Oliver Thambo at the college of Fort Hare. He took part in student's politics and got expelled from school but later went for further studies at Johannesburg and graduated as a lawyer.

The contribution Nelson Mandela included the following:

- Nelson Mandela provided able leadership in the struggle against apartheid. He accepted to lead a society full of oppression and this helped the blacks to exit the racist bondage.
- Nelson Mandela and the colleagues of Oliver Thambo, Walter formed the ANC youth league in 1944. Mandela became an executive member of ANC and president of the youth wing.
- Mandela organized defiance campaigns against apartheid regime. He organized defiance against white in 1952 to criticize the pass laws and colour bar.
- Mandela contributed to the adoption of freedom charter which called for the protection of rights of the blacks. The charter called for the democratic governance in South Africa.
- Mandela was arrested with his colleagues Oliver Thambo and Chief Albert and charged with treason. In the trial, Mandela used his professional skills to defeat the racist and continued to condemn the regime.
- Mandela took part in the 1960 Sharpeville demonstrations against the pass laws. This was organized by ANC and PAC formed by Robert Sobukwe, but led to the police killing the demonstrators, arrests at Pretoria. This act was condemned internationally and weakened apartheid.
- Mandela called for a nation wide strike of a stay at home from work. This prompted the racist regime to apply barbaric measures and hunted for Mandela; Mandela continued to demand for reforms from the government of Verwoerd and formed the National action council of workers.
- Mandela led to the formation of the Umkhonto Weziwe in 1961 a wing of the militarized ANC. It organized acts of sabotage campaigns in the country and it included some colored's and Asians,organized guerilla war on the apartheid regime.
- Mandela sacrificed his lifetime to be imprisoned for 27 years (1964-1990) at Roben Island. This made him a celebrated liberator in the world and it inspired the blacks to fight for the

independence, the news of the arrest featured in the prominent news papers hence dismantling apartheid.

- Mandela criticized the apartheid regime through his writings. These included: ‘’the struggle in my life’’, ‘’Long walk to freedom’’. These writings had a strong impact on the minds of the blacks to get involved in the demonstrations that even made Mandela to have his son killed by racist regime.
- Mandela solicited for support from the over seas upon his release in 1990. He got support from other countries and even reconciled and even reconciled with the different races in South Africa. The South African truth and reconciliation commission was set up and Mandela appointed Desmond Tutu to head it leading to independence.
- Mandela took part in the political negotiations that led to the elections in April 1994. Mandela emerged as the winner under ANC as the first black president and left power in 1999 to his Vice President Thabo Mbeki.

Question

Assess the role of Nelson Mandela in the liberation struggle of South Africa.

THE ROLE OF ANC IN THE LIBERATION/STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

The ANC was formed in June 1912 by John Dube, Pixtety Ka Ishaka among others. It was first called South African Native National Congress (SNNC) and changed its name to ANC in 1923.

Its first president was John Dube though it was dominated by the blacks, ANC had members from the Asians, lawyers, journalists, teachers, colored people and the chiefs.

To a greater extent, ANC played a significant role in the collapse of apartheid as below:

- The ANC carried out sabotage campaigns against the apartheid regime i.e. the 1960 Sharpeville demonstration protesting pass laws, stopped African workers to work for the whites etc.
- ANC formed a working alliance with other liberation movements e.g. the Congress of Trade Unions, PAC, colored people organisation, SASO of Steve Biko (South African Students Organisation)

- ANC also carried out mobilization, sensitization of the masses against the evils of apartheid. This aroused nationalistic sentiments that led to the collapse of apartheid.
- ANC recruited and sent fighters in guerilla war fare in countries of China, Nigeria and Soviet Union. This increased the military skills by the trainees who later launched struggles against apartheid.
- The ANC in South Africa militarized African struggles. They formed the Umkhonto We sizwe (spear of the nation) to lead violence against the racist regime.
- The ANC enlisted women in the fight against apartheid e.g. Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu. These involved in demonstrations and sabotage activities against apartheid.
- ANC took part in political negotiations leading to the independence of South Africa in 1994. Mandela and other ANC leaders engaged De Clerk and the black majority rule was effected.
- ANC established exile bases to coordinate the activities of ANC e.g. in Botswana, Zambia, Nigeria, Uganda and Mozambique. These prepared South Africa for independence.
- ANC sought assistance and recognition from international bodies like OAU, UNO. This legitimized the activities of ANC and was encouraged to take over leadership due to the sanctions imposed on the racist regime.
- ANC put pressure on the apartheid regime to grant independence to the blacks. This was done through demonstrations, strikes that weakened the apartheid regime.
- The ANC took part in the multi-racial elections organized in April 1994. This made Nelson Mandela to win with a land slide victory that was a final blow to apartheid regime.

Question

Assess the contribution of ANC to the collapse of apartheid in South Africa.

THE ROLE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

Frontline states came to mean countries with close geographical proximity (nearness) to South Africa and these were:

Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, but later had to include all other countries that came in to support like Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria Tanzania and Algeria.

Frontline states also doubled as members of OAU and these established a base in Tanzania i.e. the liberation committee whose role was to give relief assistance to the blacks in South Africa.

To a greater extent, frontline states contributed to the collapse of apartheid as below:

- They set up a liberation committee with head quarters in Tanzania. This was looking into the possible means of extending assistance to the freedom fighters in South Africa e.g. military, financial that weakened the regime.
- Frontline states provided asylum or protection to the freedom fighters in south Africa most of these had been threatened, tortured by the apartheid countries like Botswana, Tanzania and Egypt assisted liberation fighters to stay in their country.
- Frontline states provided alternative education opportunities to South Africa. This included the youth who had been denied education opportunities e.g. providing free education. This increased the elite class in South Africa.
- Frontline states provided practical examples and inspiration to the black nationalists e.g. Zambia had defeated the CAF government in 1964; Zimbabwe defeated the UDI in 1980, Mozambique in 1975 and Namibia in 1990. These acted as impetus to the blacks in South Africa.
- Frontline states also formed the SADC i.e. south African development council. The members of SADC i.e. Zambia, Angola. Mozambique etc ganged up against the racist regime, isolated the regime and imposed sanctions on the apartheid regime.
- The frontline states engineered the political negotiations between OAU and ANC and the apartheid regime. These negotiations contributed to holding multi racial elections in 1994.
- The frontline states discouraged western countries in Europe and America from selling military hard ware to South Africa. In 1970, Kenneth Kaunda led a delegation to

Washington, Berlin and London to persuade these countries not to support the racist regime.

- Frontline states put pressure on the racist regime in South Africa to grant independence to the blacks. They encouraged both violence and non-violence. This compelled the apartheid regime to grant freedom and organize elections in 1994.
- Frontline states also helped to train the liberation fighters. The military wing of ANC Umkhonto We sizwe trained in nearby states to south Africa like Uganda, Tanzania, and went back to sabotage the activities of the apartheid regime.
- The frontline put pressure on UNO to discourage apartheid in South Africa. Consequently, the UN was forced to put sanctions on the apartheid regime that was denounced in 1994.

THE ROLE OF THE SOWETO UP RISING 1976-1977

Question

- Discuss the role played by Soweto of 1976-1977 in the struggle for black majority independence in South Africa.
- Soweto uprising was a major uprising which occurred in June 1976 in Soweto town. It broke out because of the activities of the BCM and Steve Biko. It was staged by school going Children who protested the educational policies of the racist regime e.g. teaching the blacks in foreign language and the introduction of hard subjects that made Africans fail.

To a greater extent, the Soweto uprising contributed to the attainment of the black majority rule in South Africa as below:

- It marked the beginning of country wide uprising which involved University students, secondary and industrial workers.
- The Soweto uprising increased the activity of BCM in South Africa.
- The uprising led to the death of Steve Biko that increased the resistance by the blacks against the racist regime.
- The uprising unveiled/exposed the grievances of the Africans e.g. lack of jobs, discrimination of blacks in decision making among others.

- The Soweto uprising led to the banning of the BCM that made young Africans to use violence in South Africa.
- The uprising led to the formation of Azania Peoples Organisation (APO) in 1978 that revived the activities of BCM.

THE ROLE OF UNO IN THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

- The UN was used as a platform by Africans to condemn apartheid.
- The UN ended the diplomatic relations with the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.
- UN set up a special committee against apartheid in 1962.
- UN expelled South Africa from UNO committees and bodies eg WHO, ILO and FAO.
- The UN influenced South Africa to be expelled from the international sporting activities.
- UN adopted the international convention of eliminating all forms of racial discrimination in 1965 in South Africa.
- In 1970, South Africa was excluded from the UNO general assembly.
- UNO set up trust fund committee for South Africa's publicity to fight the racist apartheid regime.
- UNO condemned the indiscriminating killings of 1976 (Soweto uprisings).
- The UN financed the anti-apartheid conferences e.g. the 1967 in Zambia.
- UN pressed for the release of the imprisoned nationalists in South Africa.
- UNO sent observers to over see the 1994 elections to check the mal-practices of the whites.
- UNO initiated negotiations/ talks between the apartheid regime and the blacks.

THE ROLE OF STEVE BIKO TOWARDS THE ANTI-APARTHEID POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Steve Biko (Bantu) was born in 1946 in King William Town in the Eastern Cape. He was the Xhosa by tribe and studied to become a medical doctor at the University of Natal.

To a gr eater extent, Steve Biko contributed to the liberation of South Africa below:

- Steve Biko was a member of the National Union of South African students (NUSAS). This organisation decampaigned the racist regime in South Africa.

- Biko formed the South African student's organisation (SASO) in 1969. This organized, sensitized the university students to join the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.
- Biko inspired Nationalistic sentiments among the secondary students to oppose the apartheid in South Africa. This meant all the students to mobilize and launch violent attacks against the racist regime.
- Steve Biko formed the black consciousness movement (BCM) in South Africa. This movement sympathized with the way the white regime ill treated Africans and laid grounds for the **SOWETO** uprising in 1976-77.
- Steve Biko inspired the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972. This body discussed the way forward for the independence of South Africa. This sensitized the youth to adopt violent strategies in South Africa.
- Steve Biko established self help projects/ schemes eg Zimele Trust Fund.This always catered for the people of South Africa and stepped up the SOL of the people in South Africa.
- Steve Biko also influenced the activities of the black workers against unfair labor policies. This acted as a sign of hostility towards the regime in South Africa.
- Steve Biko was captured and arrested by the apartheid regime. This led to his continued torture under the police custody leading to his death in 1977. His death attracted international condemnation that forced the apartheid regime to prepare independence grounds.
- Steve Biko also inspired the outbreak of the 1976-1977 SOWETO uprising through the BCM. This protest led to the killing of the Africans that made the international community to rescue the Africans by pressuring the racist regime.

Question

Examine the contribution of Fredrick De-Clerk towards the attainment of black majority rule in South Africa.

De-clerk was the last president of the apartheid regime and came to power in 1989. Unlike his predecessors, De-clerk was liberal and he supported the independence of South Africa.

His contributions include the following:

- De clerk organized for the independence of Namibia in 1990 and this greatly influenced the majority rule in South Africa to demand for immediate independence.
- He released political prisoners in South Africa and these included Nelson Mandela, Albert Luthuli etc. this increased the candle of independence for the people in South Africa.
- De clerk organized the first ever multi-racial elections in South Africa in 1994. These elections were swept by ANC and Nelson Mandela became the first black president.
- Fredrick lifted the ban against the political parties in South Africa. The apartheid regime had banned all political parties, De clerk allowed the parties to operate smoothly.
- De clerk accepted to step down as a president and served as a Vice President under Nelson Mandela. This was a gesture/ sign to all the people in the world that the question of the blacks had been lifted.
- De clerk contributed to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission that saw the whites and the blacks forgive one another. This made all races in South Africa to behave well towards each other.
- De clerk banned the racist policy in South Africa e.g. the color bar, the industrial laws, banning Africans from joining certain jobs.
- De clerk gave Africans the voting rights that had been denied to them by the racist regime of Botha and Verwoerd.

NATIONALISM IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA (NAMIBIA)

Namibia was first a Germany colony, but was mandated to South Africa. The main liberation movement in Namibia's struggle for independence was the south West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), The South West African National union (SWANU) also played an active role in the struggle for independence in Namibia. Eventually, Namibia was able to regain her independence from South Africa in March 1990 with Sam Nujoma as the first president.

OBSTACLES IN NAMIBIA'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

1. The extension of the apartheid policy in Namibia. Upon the introduction of apartheid in South Africa, the policy was extended to Namibia by the South African government. This was followed by the establishment of Bantustans in Namibia which became a basis of ethnicism in Namibia leading to disunity among the masses. Apartheid was also followed by

the pass laws, curfews which restricted Africans in particular places. Apartheid hampered the nationalistic struggle in Namibia hence delayed independence.

2. The military superiority of the South Africans in Namibia. South Africa had a large army which was well trained, equipped and facilitated. This army was put to use and it crushed SWAPO guerilla activities. On the contrary, the SWAPO fighters were ill equipped, poorly trained and not coordinated making them military vulnerable to the South Africans forces hence delaying success and Namibia's independence struggle up to 1990.
3. The role of the cold war politics also partly delayed Namibia's independence. Because of SWAPOs Marxist orientation and due to the fear of the spread of communism, capitalist states like USA and Britain embarked on a policy of south Africa's rule in Namibia with a lot of military and financial backing in order to frustrate SWAPO's efforts for the fear that SWAPO might come to power and turn Namibia into a communist state. Therefore complicated the road to independence in Namibia.
4. The role of the Triumvirate alliance also contributed to the delayed independence of Namibia. This was an offensive and defensive military alliance formed by Don Salazar of Portugal, Ian Smith of southern Rhodesia and Hendrick Verwoerd of South Africa whose main aim was crushing any nationalistic activity/ guerilla movement in any of the territories under their rule. The presence of the Triumvirate therefore frustrated SWAPO's efforts to defeat South African forces which in turn delayed independence up to 1990.
5. South Africa's economic interests in Namibia also delayed the independence of Namibia. South Africa could not let go of Namibia with its abundant economic and natural resources like zinc, diamonds and other minerals including uranium which was vital in the manufacturing of nuclear weapons. Namibia's climate and soils became crucial for South Africa's interests of maximizing the agricultural potential of the country. Therefore the economic motives of South Africa in Namibia made it difficult for it to grant independence to Namibia.
6. The presence of the large white settler community in Namibia also delayed her independence up to 1990. Namibia had a total of a bout 100,000 settlers and the number kept on increasing something that necessitated the protection of their interest in Namibia. They had acquired land and other forms of wealth plus privileges which needed to be protected.

This made the South African apartheid regime in Namibia to become so tough to any nationalistic activity in the country hence delaying the independence of South West Africa.

7. The use of brutal and oppressive means against nationalists also delayed Namibia's independence. Soon after South Africa's taking over Namibia, a force was sent to punish chief Manduma of the Ovambo who was later killed. This was followed by bombings in which thousands of Namibians were killed in 1922. Herman Jatoivo was sentenced for 20 years and transported to Roben Island. Such acts of brutality made many Namibians to oppose South Africa in Namibia and join the SWAPO in large numbers. The brutality of South Africa in Namibia delayed her independence.
8. Ethnicity also presented another problem in Namibia's struggle for independence. Various tribes of Ovambo, Herero, Nama were torn apart by ethnic rivalry and could hardly unite against South Africa's rule. Even when the political parties started to emerge, they were formed on ethnic grounds e.g SWAPO for Ovambo and SWANU for Herero. It meant that there was lack of a united front against South African rule there by delaying Namibia's independence up to 1990.
9. The presence of Cuban troops in Angola also delayed Namibia's independence. With these troops in Angola, South Africa feared to grant independence to Namibia as the Cuban troops would be a source of insecurity in South Africa. Cuban troops had been brought to Angola to help the MPLA against the UNITA rebels. Namibia therefore acted as a buffer zone against Cuban forces in Angola and granting her independence would tantamount to a betrayal to south Africa's security which made south Africa hold on to Namibia until 1990.
10. The delayed independence of neighboring states also delayed Namibia's independence. One of her neighbors delayed to get her independence up to 1975 and this made it difficult for SWAPO guerillas to base their military training in Angola. Zimbabwe the would be alternative got independence in 1980 and would be of little help to Namibia's struggle. The neighbors to Namibia were made busy by their own internal problems of struggling for freedom and could not do much as far as her independence was concerned.
11. The double standards and weaknesses of UNO also delayed independence of Namibia. Despite the ruling it gave in October 1966, by the general assembly of the UN that South Africa vacates Namibia, UNO did not make meaningful steps to ensure compliance. Again in 1949, the international court of justice of the UN passed a ruling that South Africa should

withdraw from Namibia. However, no tangible/ meaningful steps were undertaken to this effect. Even the economic sanctions that were imposed by the UN on South African regime were half hearted hence delaying Namibia's independence up to 1990.

12. The weaknesses of OAU also delayed Namibia's independence. Like the UN, OAUs resolutions often remained on paper. The liberation committee lacked an army of its own to implement its resolutions and frequently suffered financial and logistical constraints coupled with ineffective economic sanctions. The OAU could not stop South Africa's rule in Namibia delaying its independence up to 1990.
13. There also existed a problem of a small elite class in Namibia. Most Namibians lacked basic formal education and even those who were lucky to attend school were provided with an inferior education services meant to prevent opposition to the South African government. Many Africans did not go beyond primary levels and this limited any chance of a rapid expansion of an elite class of Namibia. A small elite class in Namibia meant a low level of political consciousness delaying Namibia's independence up to 1990.
14. The economic weakness of Namibian nationalists in comparison with the economic strength of the South African economy. A deliberate move was adopted by the South African administration in Namibia to limit Namibians from education opportunities, commerce and employment which kept majority of the Namibians in permanent poverty. Besides the nationalistic struggle required a lot of material, financial and logistical back ups which African fighters in Namibia could not provide. This was to delay Namibia's independence up to 1990.

FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF NAMIBIA'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The occurrence of the Lisbon coup in April 1974. This contributed to the independence of Angola inspiring 4,000 Namibians (freedom fighters) to make their way into Angola for SWAPO military training. The Lisbon coup therefore facilitated the process in which Angola became a training ground and military base for SWAPO guerillas which in turn worked in favour of the nationalist struggle in Namibia.

1. Support from frontline states also contributed to the success o Namibia's struggle for independence. A number of frontline states like Zambia, Tanzania, Egypt, Mozambique and Algeria offered considerable support to the Namibian liberation struggle. They provided training grounds and military bases for SWAPO guerillas. They also provided

asylum, besides providing education opportunities for freedom fighters. They also helped to put pressure on South Africa to withdraw her rule.

2. The end of the cold war also facilitated Namibia's independence in1990. The disintegration of USSR was followed with an end of cold war politics in 1990. Therefore, the earlier fear of the possible spread of communism had been overcome. The capitalist world therefore no longer viewed it as necessary to continue supporting South Africa's rule in Namibia which worked in favour of Namibian nationalists and continued to struggle for their own independence which became a success in 1990.
3. The collapse of the Triumvirate alliance also helped Namibia when one of its founders Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd was assassinated in 1966 and replaced by Voster and when Don Salazar became paralyzed in 1968, Ian smith was left without a close ally. This facilitated the collapse of the Triumvirate which had been notorious for crushing guerilla and nationalists activities in Namibia there by giving a chance to Namibian nationalists to fight and defeat the South African regime in Namibia.
4. The support from the communist states gave success to the nationalist struggle. These states included China, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. They provided assistance to the SWAPO guerilla in terms of finances and gave weapons to Namibians to fight the South African government in Namibia. This therefore helped Namibia to attain independence in 1990.
5. The role of Fredrick de clerk also facilitated the independence struggle in Namibia. Upon coming to power in South Africa in 1989, he embarked on a liberal approach in solving the Namibian question for independence. He quickly came to a compromise with SWAPO and agreed on a cease fire and set the date for Namibia's independence which was to be 21st march 1990.
6. The effective leadership provided by Sam Nujoma also gave rise to Namibia's independence. In his fore sighted leadership, he united the various tribes of Ovambo and Herero into the SWAPO mass movement to fight South African rule in Namibia. Through his efforts, Namibia was able to get independence in 1990 and that is why Sam Nujoma became the first president of Namibia.

7. The support that the OAU gave to the independence struggle in Namibia. OAU gave SWAPO official recognition and support. The OAU liberation committee worked tirelessly to assist Namibians in the liberation struggle against South African rule.
8. Role of the UNO. After placing Namibia under its trusteeship, UNO put pressure on South Africa to withdraw its rule in Namibia. In October 1966, the General assembly of UN withdrew South Africa's right to administer Namibia. In 1971, the UN directed that its members refrain from recognizing South Africa's rule in Namibia. Besides, the UN applied economic sanctions to end South Africa's rule in Namibia. Finally, the UN also supervised pre-independence elections that ushered Namibia to independence on 21st march 1990.
9. South Africa's brutal polices in Namibia also aided the struggle. South Africa's brutal policies e.g. the bombing of Kissinga, a refugee camp for Namibians in Angola occupied by 3000 residents mainly women and children and killed many people in May 1978. Besides curfews, pass laws and frequent arrests of nationalist leaders like Toivo, Herman Jatoivo. This turned away many Africans in Namibia against South Africa's rule and influenced Namibians to strongly embrace the liberation struggle as the only solution to kick out South African brutality from Namibia. This partly contributed to attainment of majority rule in Namibia.

THE ROLE OF SWAPO IN NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE OR SAM NUJOMA

The SWAPO was formed in April 1957 by Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kuhangua. It was first known as the Ovambo peoples organization, but it took on its new name of SWAPO in 1960 at the request of Kerina Mburumba who became both the first SWAPO president when Namibia got independence on 21st march 1990. Its role was as follows:

1. SWAPO provided leadership to the struggle for independence in Namibia. Its leadership base was strong enough with charismatic leaders like Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kuhangua. These leaders hatched plans directed and guided the struggle for independence in Namibia generally, SWAPO leadership and policies won the party a big following among the masses that led to independence in 1990.
2. SWAPO united masses in Namibia for a joint action towards South Africa's rule. Much as it started as the Ovambo people's movement, it later recruited people of diverse ethnic

backgrounds of Herero, Nama. By uniting the masses, opposition to South African rule became strong and that is why independence was attained in 1990.

3. SWAPO also trained the guerilla fighters in Namibia. The training became intense especially after the Lisbon coup when Namibians were taken to Angola for military training. When SWAPO trained the fighters, they were fit enough to carry out acts of sabotage on the apartheid government in Namibia. By training guerilla fighters, SWAPO contributed to the attainment of independence.
4. SWAPO also organized strikes in Namibia. These were a sign of hostility to the unfairness of the South African rule in Namibia. SWAPO organized disgruntled contract workers in the fishing industry to strike at walvis bay. More strikes were organized amongst mine workers and farm laborers. Such strikes helped to appeal to the South African regime in Namibia to decolonize Namibia.
5. SWAPO rejected the Bantustan elections of August 1973. It appealed to all Namibians to reject the results of elections and this call was answered by 97.5% of the electorate. This was a step towards opposition in the South African rule in Namibia.
6. SWAPO recruited women and youth in the independence struggle in Namibia. This later became a strong force in the struggle. By recruiting women and the youth, SWAPO contributed to attainment of independence in Namibia.
7. SWAPO sought for external support especially from socialist countries especially Cuba, China, and USSR. These countries provided military, financial and moral support. They also helped to train the African fighters using modern methods that enabled Africans the nationalists to attain independence.
8. SWAPO declared war on South African rule. This war was after SWAPOs preparation which included training guerillas and equipping them with necessary skills to South Africa out of Namibia. It was after declaring war on S. Africa that S. Africa started thinking of granting Namibia's independence.
9. SWAPO also established external bases in Angola. This became training grounds for SWAPO guerillas. These were also used to coordinate external assistance to the SWAPO guerillas a factor that contributed to the later success of the independent struggle in Namibia.

10. SWAPO won recognition of the UN. This helped Namibia in a sense that it got a lot of backing and assistance from the UN which involved putting sanctions on South Africa and cancelling out its official recognition in Namibia. The UN greatly assisted Namibia in 1990.
11. SWAPO also appealed to OAU and later won its sympathy and recognition. The OAU through its liberation committee, it influenced front lines e.g. Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia etc to assist Namibia in their struggle for independence which become a reality in 1990.
12. SWAPO also accepted to take part in the pre-independence elections and recognition with Fredrick De clerk in 1989.These negotiation become vital in Namibia's date for independence set to be 21 March 1990.
13. SWAPO accepted to receive instruments of power on 21 March 1990 with Sam Nujoma as its first president.

To what extent did Sam Nujoma contribute to the struggle for independence in South West Africa (Namibia?)

Preamble

- A candidate is required to give and explain the role of Sam Nujoma in the struggle for independence.
- Other factors are required.
- A clear stand point is needed.

Points to consider

a) Avaible introduction /background of Nujoma i.e. south west Africa was a Germany colony until 1920 when it was mandated to the league of nations but later the UN under the security council had resolved its decolonization defied by south Africa from 1960.
- Mobilized workers in Namibia to protest against the contract labor.
- He founded the Ovambo peoples organisation in 1957 (OPO)
- Nujoma transformed OPO to SWAPO in 1966.
- Provided leadership to the liberation struggle.
- Opposed the introduction of the apartheid policies in Namibia.
- Started the guerilla warfare against South Africa.
- Sought for support from radical and socialist states like USSR.
- Recruited and trained fighters in Tanzania and Angola.

- He set up external bases in neighboring countries i.e. Tanzania and other frontline states.
- Won the support of NAM.
- Won the support of OAU liberation committee.
- Won the support of the Pan Africans after 1958 i.e. Accra conference.
- He led the negotiations with the South African government.
- Promoted unity.
- Cooperated with other nationalists like Ja Taivo
- Created alliances with other liberation movements in south Africa like MPLA, FRELIMO
- Received the instruments of power of independence for Namibia.
- Opposed the Turnhall conference proposal.
- He set up a military wing called PLAN i.e. (Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia)
- He opposed South Africa's brutality.

OTHER FACTORS

- The role of SWANU i.e. South west African national union.
- The end of cold war politics.
- The collapse of the Triumvirate alliance by 1985.
- Withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Namibia.
- Success of other liberation movements like MPLA, FRELIMO and ZANU-PF.
- The determination of the Namibians.
- Rise to power of F.W.D e clerk in 1989.
- The wind of change speech by Harold Mac Milan 1960.
- Extreme brutality of South Africa hardened the souls of the Namibians.
- Role of the commonwealth of nations
- The Lisbon coup of 1974.
- The activities of ANC in South Africa.
- International condemnation of the apartheid regime from the international court of justice (ICJ).

CIVIL WARS IN AFRICA

Civil wars are always fought by nationalities (tribes) in the same country though some are supported by foreign powers.

Examples of the civil wars in Africa include:

1. The Sudan civil war 1956 – 2005 led by Anyanya rebels under Joseph Lagu and SPLA rebels under John Garang against the government of Khartoum in Sudan.
2. The civil war in Congo / Katanga secession of 1960 – 1963 under Moise Tshombe against the central government of Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba.
3. The Eritrean secessionist war 1961 – 1993 led by the Eritrean people's Liberation Front (EPLF) under Isaias Afeweki against the Ethiopian government of Emperor Haille Selassie and later Mengistu HAille Mariam.
4. The civil war in Chad 1965 – 1982 led by the Chad National Liberation Front (FROLINNAT) rebels in the north i.e. mainly Muslims (Toubou tribe) against the N'djamena leadership of the Sara of President Francois Tombalbaye.
5. The Nigerian civil war / Biafran secession of 1967 – 1970. (The separatist movement by the Biafrans in Eastern Nigeria under Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu against the Yakoub Gowon's government.
6. The civil war in Mozambique 1971 – 1994 (RENAMO rebels against FRELIMO's first government by Samora Machel and later Joachim Chisano.
7. The civil war in Angola 1975 – 2005 (UNITA rebels under Jonas Savimbi and FNLA rebels under Holden Roberto against the MPLA government in Luanda of Agostinho Neto and later JOS Eduardo Dos Santos)
8. The civil war in Uganda / The Bush war 1981 – 1986 (NRA/M) under Yoweri Museveni Kaguta battling Milton Obote II government in Uganda.
   (Note: Same day 25th January 1971 of Amin, 25th January 1986 Museveni came to power)
9. The civil war in Rwanda / The Rwanda invasion 1990 – 1994. (RPF under Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame against the Hutu government of President Juvenal Habyarimana)

General causes of civil wars in Africa

- Colonial legacy of divide and rule
- Greed for power i.e. Savimbi in Angola, Tshombe in Congo, Ojukwu in Nigeria
- Regional imbalance i.e. Sudan as the south was under developed, Eastern Congo was also ignored and the Northern part of Chad ignored.
- The struggle for control of the economic resources e.g. diamond and oil in Angola, Oil in Chad, Nigeria and Sudan etc.
- Religious differences i.e. Christians in Eastern Nigeria, Christians of southern Sudan against the Khartoum sharia government.
- Ethnic rivalry / hatred i.e. the Ovimbundu and Bakongo in Angola, Toubou of Chad, Ibo of Eastern Nigeria against the Hausa – Fulani in the North.
- Dictatorship of leaders in power i.e. Gowon in Nigeria, DOS Santos in Angola, Selassie of Ethiopia, Niemeri in Sudan etc.
- Weaknesses of the OAU i.e. failed to intervene due to the principle of non – interference, no high command etc.
- Double standard of UNO – delay to impose sanctions, verbal condemnation and some UN members supporting the rebels e.g. in Katanga and Biafra
- Coldwar politics of the time – the ideological conflicts between USA and USSR left Africa torn apart.
- External influence / foreign intrigue i.e. Gadaffi of Libya assisted the FROLINAT in Chad against Tombalbaye's government, France and China rendered support to the Biafrans, South African Apartheid aided UNITA rebels in Angola.
- Rigging of elections i.e. Nigeria in 1964, Angola in 1992, Uganda in 1980.
- General economic hardships i.e. poverty, inflation, unemployment etc
- Language differences e.g. the Amhara in Ethiopia to be imposed up to the Eritreans.

General effects of civil wars

- Loss of lives
- Destruction of property

- Increased refugee crisis
- Economic stagnation
- Exposed weaknesses of OAU
- Exposed weaknesses of UNO
- Increased Neo – colonialism in African countries
- Intensified cold war politics
- Militarization of African politics
- Undermined effective and functional democracy
- Famine and starvation
- Disruption of peace in the country

MILITARY COUPS IN AFRICA

A military coup is a forceful takeover of power by the army from a legitimate government.

The examples of coups include the following:

1. The Egyptian coup 1952 – 23rd July led by the free officers movement of the Egyptian army. The leaders included Muhammad Neguib, Gamel Nasser and Anwar Sadat against King Farouk
2. The Togo coup of January 1963 organized by a group of ex – soldiers i.e. Emmanuel Bodjolle and Ellienne Eyadema against president Sylvanus Olympio, he was shot dead outside the United States Embassy
3. The Algerian coup organized by colonel Houari Boumedienne who over threw Ahmed Ben Bella
4. The coup in Congo 1965 (Mobutu Sseseko over throwing Joseph Kasavubu)
5. Nigerian coups in 1966 i.e. January 1966 by majors Ifeajuna, Patrick Nzeogwu against Abubaker Tafawa Balewa.

   The second coup in July 1966.This was against Johnson Aquiyi Ironsi led by army officers led by Muhammad Murtala

   The army handed power to general Yakubu Gowon.

6. The 1966 coup in Ghana 24th February 1966 led by Akwasi Afrifa, Kotoka, major Ocran overthrew Kwame Nkrumah and appointed Arthur Ankrah as leader.
   - 1972 coup in Ghana led by Ignatious Kutu Acheampong
   - 1978 (Ghana) – Akuffo – deputy chief of staff against Acheampong.
   - 1979 (Ghana) – A group of military led by Lt. Jerry Rawlings.
   - 1981 (Ghana) – Hilla Liman's government overthrown by Jerry Rawlings.

7. The Libyan coup of 1969 (1st September 1969) organised by Free Unionist officer (FUO) led by major Muammar Gadaffi assisted by major Jaloud to over throw Idris (King) – amonarchical government.
8. The coup in Uganda – 25th January 1971 Army commander Idi Amin Dada against president Milton Obote.
9. Ethiopian coup of 1974. The Dergue military committee overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie (The monarchical government).
   - In 1991, the government of Mengistu Haille Mariam was overthrown by Melez Zenawi
10. The 1975 Coup in Chad. Felix malloum over threw Francois Tombalbaye.
11. The 3rd Nigerian coup in 1975 (Muhammad Murtala overthrew General Yakubu Gowon.
12. The 4th Nigerian coup in 1976 General Olusegun Obasanjo over threw Muhammad murtala
13. The Liberian coup of 1980 (12th April) The 28 year old Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Deo overthrew president William Tolbert.
14. The 5th Nigerian coup 1983 (Muhammad Buhhari overthrew Shehu Shagari)
15. The 6th Nigerian coup 1985 (Ibrahim Babangida overthrew Muhammad Bukhari)
16. The 7th Nigerian coup 1990 (Sani Abacha over threw Babangida)
17. The Ugandan coup of June 1985 (military Junta) led by Bazilio Olara Okello and Tito Okello Lutwa over threw Milton Obote II government.

General causes of Coups in Africa

- Neglect / grievances of the army
- Ambition of the army officers for power
- Corruption of the leaders in power
- Nepotism and favoritism
- Dictatorship of the leaders in power
- Failure to control inflation / high costs of living
- Extravagant leadership
- Coldwar politics at the time
- Weaknesses of OAU
- Weaknesses of UNO
- Influence of other successful coups in Africa
- Rigging of elections or failure to organize elections
- General poverty and unemployment in the country
- Foreign influence / intrigue e.g. Israel, Britain for 1971 in Uganda and USA for 1966 in Ghana
- High foreign debt burden i.e. Dr. Kofi Busia in Ghana / poor economic policies etc
- Abrogation of independence constitutions
- Gross violation of human rights e.g. censorship of the press
- Inadequate / pre – mature independence

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HISTORY P210/1

Question 1

"Nationalism was a major factor in the outbreak of the 1935 – 41 Italo – Ethiopian Crisis". Discuss.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the contribution of nationalism in the outbreak of the crisis.

- Other factors be considered
- A clear stand point needed

Points to consider

- A clear definition
- Desire to revenge for the shameful battle of Adowa 1896.
- Desire by Italy to demonstrate her military strength to other European countries.
- Desire to control the ports Massawa and Assab
- Italy wanted to gain control of Ethiopia's fertile soils.
- Desire by Italy to revive the ancient Roman Empire
- The unfairness of the 1919 Versailles settlement aroused sentiments.
- The rise of fascism in Italy
- Desire by Ethiopia to protect her independence
- The occupation of the Wal – Wal in 1934.
- Need to protect Italian interests in Somalia and Eritrea.
- Desire to spread Italian civilization
- Italy's late entry into the colonial race / acquisition process.

Other factors

- The 1929 – 35 economic depression in Italy.
- Expected support from Hitler of Germany
- Desire by Mussolini to divert the attention of Italians from his domestic failures.
- Weaknesses of the League of Nations.
- The appeasement policy of Britain and France.

Question 2

Account for the success of the nationalists in Algeria between 1954 - 1962

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the reasons why the Algerians were able to attain self rule.
- A viable brief introduction is needed

Points to consider

- Nature of the cause's i.e. oppressive colonial policies.
- Massive support
- Formation of liberation movements like the organization secret (OS) and FLN.
- Organizational abilities of the nationalists
- Role of World War II (Ex – servicemen)
- Algerian numerical advantage that scared the French and negotiated
- Independence of Algerian neighbours i.e. Ghana, Morrocco, Tunisia etc
- Support of Nasser (role of FOA)
- Role of UNO
- Liberal minded Frenchmen i.e. De – Gualle and others.
- Cold war politics (communist support)
- Financial consequences of the war on France
- Coming to power of Charles Degualle
- Religious factor that enhanced the unity of Algerians
- Role of women i.e. cultivation of food and carrying bombs in veils.
- Role of Pan Africanism
- Geographical advantage of Algeria i.e. desert i.e. Algerians were a climatised.

Question 3

How did the colonial administrative policies contribute to the outbreak of the 1967 – 70 Biafran war of secession?

Preamble

A candidate should clearly explain the role of colonial administrative policies / factors to the outbreak of the 1967 – 70 Biafran secession.

Points to consider

(a) Viable definition of Biafran secession

(b) Role of administrative colonial polices

- Responsible for the religious friction
- The system of indirect rule encouraged loyalty to regional leaders
- Divide and rule policy created regionalism
- Led to un balanced development
- Inadequate preparation for independence
- Featured favoritism to the Igbos i.e were employed to other regions.
- Allowed the formation of political parties based on ethnic lines NCNC / NPC / AG
- Failed to groom nationalistic leaders
- Colonial constitutional reforms without lasting solutions.

Question 4

Account for the survival of Apartheid regime in South Africa between 1948 and 1994.

Preamble

A candidate is expected to give and explain the reasons for the survival of the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

Points to consider

a) Viable definition of Apartheid

b) Reasons for the survival

- Establishment of Bantu homelands (Bantustans)
- Establishment of triumvirate
- Enactment of a bulk of racist and oppressive laws to incapacitate Africans.
- Role of spy network i.e. Bureau of state security (Boss), Parliamentary internal security commission (Pisco).
- Military strength of the Apartheid regime
- Cold war politics on the continent
- The delayed independence of South Africa's neighbors or post independence problems.

- The ban on anti – apartheid political parties.
- The arrest and detention of anti – apartheid personalities (Steve Biko etc)
- The assassination of Black African leaders i.e. Steve Biko, Chris hans etc
- Disunity and infighting within the anti – apartheid groups
- Poor education given to the black Africans
- The economic strength of the apartheid regime
- Denial of Africans to take part in democratic process
- Conservative leaders e.g. Dr. Daniel Malan, Verwoed, Pw Botha etc
- Weaknesses of UNO (double standards)
- Weakness of OAU
- Presence of multi – national companies e.g. Barclays Bank
- Collaboration of some African countries e.g. Malawi under Kamuzu Banda.
- Detente policy of prime minister Verwoed
- The non – violent methodology used by Africans in the early stages etc.

Question 5

Describe the features of socialism in Tanzania between 1967 and 1987.

Preamble

A candidate is expected to identify and explain the characteristics of socialism in Tanzania between 1967 and 1986.

Points to consider

a) A viable definition of socialism

Socialism in Tanzania was also refered to as the Ujamaa adopted during the Arusha declaration of 1967.

b) Features of socialism

- The state controlled the means of production

- It followed a one party system TANU which later came to be CCM
- Promoted equality of income
- There was forced villagilisation
- It emphasized the revival of African cultures.
- It emphasized centralized planning
- It promoted patriotism
- It promoted the use of Kiswahili language
- It encouraged social justice and welfare e.g. education and medical
- Encouraged hard work
- It put more emphasis on agriculture
- Featured the development of small scale industries
- Emphasized rural development
- Promoted self reliance
- Promoted grass – root democracy
- Put more emphasis on lower education / universal primary education
- Emphasized the defense of the country by establishment of the TPDF
- Emphasized unity.

Question 6

Explain the measures which have been taken to achieve economic self – reliance in any one independent African state.

Preamble

A candidate is required to identify and explain the measures which have been used to achieve economic self reliance in any one independent African state.

NB: A candidate should give detailed and specific examples for the country chosen

Points to consider

a) A viable definition of self reliance

b) Measures

- Currency reform – introduction of currency units to make it gain value
- Promotion of industrialization
- Liberalization of the economic and nationalization of the economy.
- Encouraging the local and foreign investments.
- Introduction of cost – sharing at all levels to reduce the strain of the economy
- Promotion of security
- Widening the tax base
- Encouragement of good international relations
- Improvement in the transport sector / communication
- Improvement of agricultural sector
- Extension of credit facilities to the masses to increase business opportunities
- Fighting corruption
- Promotion of practical education
- Export promotion strategy
- Import substitution strategy
- Rejection of foreign aid with strings attached
- Diversification of the economy
- Regional integration e.g. COMESA, EAC etc
- Promoting national unity
- Barter trade
- Adoption of independent ideologies
- Joining continental organizations i.e. OAU and later AU.
- Adoption of national language i.e. Amharic and Kiswahili.

Question 7

Assess the impact of the Lusaka Declaration on Southern Africa since 1980

Preamble

A candidate is expected to identify and explain the positive and negative effects of the L.D since 1980.

A good essay must have clear stand point.

Points to consider

a) Definition

It was a declaration by Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia to promote unity and boost economic development of these countries.

Positive effects / impact

- It led to the formation of SADCC in April 1980
- Brought together the South African countries of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Swaziland into an economic integration.
- It has improved trade among the member states
- Has controlled fire arms and ammunitions and other related military materials.
- Contributed to the liberation of the Blacks in South Africa.
- It signed a protocol in combating illicit drugs in 1986.
- Promoted security in the region
- It established the peace keeping training centre in Zimbabwe
- Eliminated the economic dependence on South Africa by its member states
- Intervened in the political crisis in the member states e.g. Zimbabwe i.e. Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tshavangarai.

Negative impact

- Ideological differences among the member states of SADCC
- Failed to stop economic competition between member states
- There has been trade diversion among the SADCC states
- Poor and unreliable transport and communication infrastructure

- Failed to end the political crisis in Zimbabwe.
- Personal differences between leaders of SADCC
- Failed to end poverty in the region
- Pursuance of personal national interests rather than regional interests by SADCC members.

Question 8

To what extent has the common market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) fulfilled the objectives of its founders?

Preamble

A candidate is expected to identify and explain the achievements and failures of COMESA.

A good essay should have a clear SP.

Points to consider

a) A viable definition of COMESA

It was formed on 5th November 1993, it has a membership of 19 countries including Uganda, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Eritrea, Malawi, Zambia etc. Aimed at promoting a balanced and harmonious development, promoting joint development, promote investment, promote peace and stability, create a common market etc.

b) Achievement

- It has introduced the COMESA dollar to ease commercial transactions
- Has established financial institutions e.g. the development bank and Re-insurance company
- Has increased the level of investment among the member states through the regional investment authority (RIA) i.e. agriculture and industrialization
- Has set up a COMESA fund to establish infrastructure
- It has promoted international relations with the European commission.

- Has eased the movement of goods and services
- Has established a court of justice to restore or resolve conflicts among member states
- Increased membership to 20 with the inclusion of Egypt.
- Constructed or contributed to the development of telecommunication network among member states.
- Improved on standard of living of the masses in the member states or employment provision
- Promoted infrastructural development among member states.
- Lasted for long time since inception

Failures

- Failed to ensure total peace and stability or refuge crisis
- Failed to control neo – colonialism or cultural erosion
- Failed to control corruption
- Has not monitored some of its projects i.e. substandard infrastructure
- Failed to ensure balanced development
- Failed to eliminate poverty among member states
- Failed to lift trade non – tariff barriers among the member states.

Question 9

Assess the achievements of the military regime in Uganda between 1971 and 1979.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give the achievements and failures of the military regime in Uganda between 1971 and 1979.
- A good essay should have a clear S.P

Points to consider

a) A viable definition of 1971 and 1979 military government / regime
b) Achievement

- Restored law and order in the initial stages
- Distributed economic and political power among its supporters
- Instantly implemented policies as opposed to bureaucratic delays of predecessors
- Restored morals e.g. fought corruption, banning mini – skirts.
- Ended civilian dictatorship e.g. Obote
- Released political prisoners
- Promoted Islam
- Made Uganda a member of the organization of Islamic conference (OIC).
- Made reconciliation of the state with Buganda / monarchy by returning the remains of Kabaka Mutesa II body.
- Created a strong army
- Promoted Pan Africanism by holding the OAU summit in Kampala
- Promoted African cultural values
- Improved on the telecommunications network
- Promoted air transport (Entebbe)
- Built and improved infrastructure e.g. Entebbe air port, roads, international conference centre etc.
- Promoted games and sports
- Improved image of Uganda by constructing embassies abroad e.g. Nairobi, London, Cairo and maintained them.
- Africanised the economy by chasing the Asians
- Carried out land reforms through the 1975 land decree
- Promoted education (NTCs)
- Implemented / promoted the national housing policy

c) Failures

- Practiced military dictatorship
- Promoted ethnicity / tribalism

- Executed the unplanned expulsion of Asians
- Corruption
- Scarcity of goods that led to inflation
- Decline in industrial production that led to expensive goods
- State inspired / extra – judicial killings / kondoism
- Religious intolerance
- Led to collapse of EAC
- Border conflicts with the neighbors i.e Tanzania and Kenya
- Decline of agriculture
- Decline in tourism
- Decline in education

Question 10

Account for the return of the civilian rule in Ghana between 1969 ad 1980.

Preamble

A candidate is expected to give and explain the factors that led to the return to civilian rule in Ghana.

Points to consider

a) Viable definition of the military and civilian rule
b) Factors for civilian rule

- Foreign intervention
- Pressure from political parties i.e. PP of Kofi Busia
- Emergency of ambitious politicians
- Fear of counter coups e.g. the abortive coup at HO in 1967 (Guiter boy led by junior officers i.e. death of Kotoka)
- Economic hardships e.g. inflation

- Corruption
- Wide spread unemployment
- Low cocoa prices
- Accumulation of foreign debts
- Collapse of industries
- Poor agriculture policies which led to starvation
- Lack of drugs and other essential commodities e.g. wheat, sugar, spare parts and soap.
- Proposal by Acheampong to form a union government in 1978
- Release of political prisoners put pressure on the government of Akuffo to return to civilian rule
- The over throw of Acheampong in 1978

U.A.C.E MARKING GUIDE

2017

1. "External factors were primarily responsible for the collapse of the Ethiopian monarchy in 1974". Discuss.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the factors for the collapse of the monarchy.
- Other factors are required
- A clear stand point given

Points to consider

- A viable introduction of the monarchy
- External factors include.

(i) Impact of the Eritrean secession

(ii) Influence of other coups in Africa

(iii) Somali / Ogaden crisis

(iv) Cold war politics / America's isolationist policy

(v) Weaknesses of OAU

(vi) Weakness of UNO

(vii) Influence of western Democratic ideas.

Other factors include:

- Economic crisis in Ethiopia (Inflation or Unemployment)
- Students' riots since 1960's
- Famine and hunger
- Corruption
- Discontent of the army / neglect of the army

- Tribalism / regional imbalance
- Financial extravagancy
- Dictatorship / despotism
- Power ambitions of soldiers / dergue government
- Land question / feudalism
- Nepotism
- High levels of illiteracy
- Over stay in power by emperor / physical weaknesses
- Religious intolerance etc *(25 marks)*

2. To what extent did the Bandung conference of 1955 contribute to the decolonization of Africa?

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the role of the Bandung conference on the decolonization of Africa.
- Other factors are required
- A clear stand point

Points to consider

- A viable introduction of the Bandung conference.

(a) It was attended by Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia and Liberia.

- Observers were Algeria, China, Gold coast and South Africa.

Contributions

(i) Strengthened Afro – Asian solidarity

(ii) Rallied Asian countries to end western imperialism in Africa / Asia

(iii) Made Africans feel that they were not alone in the independence struggle

(iv) Strengthened the voice of Africans at the UNO through the G.77.

(v) Provided a platform for the colonized people of Africa to put pressure on colonialists.

(vi) Laid a foundation for the formation of NAM

(vii) Influenced Chinese advance in Africa.

(viii) Led to organizing anti – colonial conferences e.g. the 1961 Belgrade conference

(ix) Condemned racism in Africa

(x) Officially ended colonialism in Africa which became a source of inspiration

(xi) Motivated African nationalists to get more involved in nationalistic struggles.

Other factors include

- Colonial policies in African countries
- Independent churches
- Missionary activities
- Economic prosperity of Japan since 1860
- Independent African states
- Pan African movement 1900
- World war I 1914
- Russian Revolution 1917
- Italo – Ethiopian Crisis 1935 – 41
- World war II 1939
- Atlantic charter 1941
- Brazzaville conference 1944
- UNO 1945
- Manchester Conference 1945
- Victory of labor party 1945
- New super powers 1946
- India's independence 1947
- Apartheid 1948
- Chinese revolution 1949

- Indonesian independence 1950
- Egyptian revolution 1952
- Mau – Mau 1952
- Algerian war of independence 1954
- Vietnamese victory 1954
- Independence of Ghana 1957
- Guinea Conakry 1958
- Common Wealth 1959
- Macmillan Speech 1960
- OAU 1963
- Lisbon Coup 1974
- Political parties
- Urbanization
- Role of the press
- Role of elites
- Etc

25 marks

3. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1959 Rwanda Revolution.

A candidate is expected to give and explain the causes and consequences of the 1959 Rwanda Revolution.

Points to consider

- A viable definition of the 1959 Rwanda Revolution

Causes

- Political domination by the Tutsi / Suppression of the Hutu
- Feudalism / Land inequality
- Imposition of the Tutsi monarchy on the Hutu
- Cultural arrogance of the Tutsi
- Forced labor
- Over taxation

- Impact of World War II
- Emergence of Hutu Elites i.e. Kayibanda and Habyarimana.
- Killing of the Hutus / Gitarama Massacre
- Rejection of the Hutu manifesto in 1957
- Death of Mwami Mutara III
- Unemployment
- Influence of the Catholic Church
- Sudden change of attitude by the Belgians (Support to Hutu)
- Famine
- Inspiration from earlier resistances i.e. Nyabingi Cult
- Education bias
- Manipulation of the 1952 decree (marriage and election principles)
- Policy of divide and rule

Negative consequences

- Led to Exodus of the Tutsi / Refugee Crisis
- Deaths / Loss of lives / Population reduction
- Destruction of property
- Tutsi lost dignity in exile
- Led to interstate conflicts
- Increased conflicts / enemity between the Tutsi and Hutus
- Increased tribalism
- Increased insecurity
- Laid a foundation to 1990 – 94 Genocide
- Led to homeless groups e.g. the Bararo
- Ushered in militarism in Rwanda e.g. overthrow of Kayibanda in 1973
- Led to re –importation of Neo-colonialism

Positive consequences

- Rwanda got independence in 1962

- Hutu captured political power
- Reduced population pressure in Rwanda
- Abolition of the Monarchy
- Elections were organized
- Rwanda became a Republic in 1961
- Hutu got land
- Education reforms
- Forced labor abolished
- Over taxation abolished
- Ushered in democracy
- Intermarriages emerged.

(25 marks)

4. Account for the adoption of socialism in Tanzania after independence.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the reasons why Tanzania adopted socialism

Points to consider

- A viable definition of socialism

Reasons

- To consolidate the hard won independence / stop neo – colonialism
- To fight poverty
- To reject capitalism
- Socialism was compatible with African values i.e. collectivism, social justice and humanism
- Influence of USSR
- The desire to promote unity / fight ethnicity or language
- Lack of a home grown ideology
- To benefit from the socialist countries

- To promote self reliance
- To promote democratic values
- To promote equality or balanced development
- To promote education
- To develop agriculture
- To avoid getting involved in cold war politics.
- To promote good leadership / fight corruption
- To promote family hood / Ujaama
- To mobilize the masses for development
- To establish a strong standing army
- To promote industrialization
- To popularize TANU
- To promote culture etc

(25 marks)

5. Explain the challenges of urbanization in any ONE African country.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain problems of urbanization in any one country.
- A country must be identified
- A viable definition of urbanization

Points to consider

- Development of slums and related problems e.g. drainage
- Pollution (Air, water, land)
- Rural – urban migration
- Unemployment
- High crime rates
- Deterioration of social services e.g. moral degeneration (prostitution)
- Shortage of land

- High rates of accidents
- High government expenditure
- Shortage of food / decline in agriculture
- High costs of living or low standards of living
- Traffic congestion
- Shortage of accommodation and housing facilities
- Diseases
- Worsening income inequality
- Regional imbalance
- Increase in number of street children
- Insecurity
- Environmental degradation
- Increase in population
- Etc *(25 marks)*

6. To what extent has ethnicity been a hinderance to attainment of national unity and development in Nigeria?

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give or explain how ethnicity has been a hinderance
- Other factors are required
- Clear stand point

Points to consider

- A viable definition of ethnicity
- Ethnicity in Nigeria was caused by colonial legacy

Role of Ethnicity include

- Influenced formation of political parties
- Has promoted corruption

- Caused political instability or civil wars and coups
- Promoted disunity
- Has promoted nepotism or tribalism
- Led to segregation
- Led to regional imbalance
- Fuelled religious conflicts or sectarianism
- Influenced secessionist attempts
- Led to wastage of resources
- Led to biased legislation
- Led to ethnic subnationalism
- Undermined patriotism
- Undermined the development of a national language

Other factors

- Slave trade
- Religious differences
- Colonial legacy
- Frequent outbreak of coups
- Fluctuation of oil prices
- Cultural rigidities
- Natural calamities
- Population pressure
- Poor leadership
- Neo – colonialism
- Poverty
- Etc (25 marks)

7. How did the Manchester Conference influence the Pan African movement up to 1960?

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain how the conference influenced the work of PAM.

Points to consider

- A viable introduction

  It was organized and chaired by Dubois from USA and attended by Nkrumah, Wollace Johnson, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kenyatta etc.

Its influence on PAM

- Blacks from Africa took over leadership of PAM
- Africa was put in the fore front of PAM
- A more radical and militant approach towards colonialism adopted
- Created political awareness among the blacks in Africa
- Encouraged the return of Africans to African continent.
- Africa for Africans became the theme of the conference
- Brought blacks together from different parts of the world
- Intensified intellectual attacks on colonialism
- Advocated for cultural revival in Africa
- Led to formation of the WANS (West African National Secretariat in 1945)
- Led to formation of radical political parties
- Shifted PAM from the diaspora to Africa
- Condemned racial discrimination or slavery
- Increased activities of WASU
- Laid foundation for other conferences e.g. AAPC of 1958
- Demanded for the implementation of the Atlantic Charter of 1941.
- Etc *(25 marks)*

8. To what extent did the United Nations Organisation (UNO) contribute to the dismantling of Apartheid in South Africa in 1994?

Preamble

- A candidate is to give and explain the role of UNO in South Africa.
- Other factors are required
- A clear stand point

Points to consider

- Viable definition of Apartheid and UNO

Role of UNO

- Imposed economic sanctions
- Called for international cooperation in ending apartheid.
- Placed an arms embargo on South Africa.
- Made Apartheid on international crime
- Expelled South Africa from its organs like UNICEF
- Recognized and gave support to liberation movements
- Declared South Africa's control over Namibia null and void
- Offered platform to anti – Apartheid Crusade
- Influenced South Africa from expulsion i.e. international games and sports i.e. Olympics.
- Appealed to member countries to cut off diplomatic ties with South Africa.
- Set up a special committee to deal with anti – Apartheid campaign
- Condemned the Sharpville Massacre
- Financed Conferences and seminars on Apartheid
- Admitted Liberation movements into the UN
- Condemned the SOWETO massacres of 1976
- Demanded for the release of Political Prisoners
- Called upon the Apartheid government to scrap off state of emergencies

Other factors

- Role of Nelson Mandela and other nationalists
- The role of Church especially Anglican
- Role of trade unions e.g. COSATU
- Role of common wealth
- Contribution of Artistees
- Role of NAM
- Macmillan Speech
- Role of Women
- Frontline states
- OAU
- Independence of neighbouring coutries
- SADCC
- Political parties
- Collapse of cold war
- Collapse of Triumvirate alliance / Lisbon Coup of 1974
- Role of Liberal Whites (Declerk)
- Role of BCM / Steve Biko
- Role of Press / Mass media
- Abandonment of Ghandism / Adoption of militarism
- Change of government in Britain e.g. Thatcher to John Major.

9. How has neo – colonialism manifested itself in the independent African states?

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to explain the ways by which neo – colonialism has manisfested in independent states
- Diversified examples needed

Points to consider

- A viable definition
- Giving economic aid

- Refusal to give aid by donors
- Presence of multinational companies
- Control of commodity prices on world marked
- Presence of espionage / spy net work i.e. CIA, MOSAD, KGB etc
- Signing of trade agreements and concessions
- Continuation of the colonial economic policies
- Lack of industrialization
- Collapse of integrations
- Impositions of colonial constitutions
- Presence of expatriates
- Existence of foreign bases militarily
- Sponsoring military coups
- Education system based on colonial syllabus
- Interference into the internal affairs of African countries
- Evangelism
- Belonging to colonial associations e.g. common wealth
- Ideologies i.e. capitalism and communism
- Political pluralism
- Use of foreign languages
- Use of print and electronic media
- Sponsoring of opposition rebels
- Brain drain
- Adoption of western cultures
- Existence of foreign embassies
- White settlers in Africa
- Use of foreign currencies
- Existence of numerous NGOs.
- Etc (25 marks)

10. "Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria was primarily responsible for his own downfall in 1965". Discuss

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to identify and explain the role of Ben Bella to his down fall
- Other factors needed
- A clear stand point

Points to consider

- A viable definition of Algerian Coup of 1965 Ben Bella's role
- His failures to carry out social and economic reforms
- Low levels of education
- Ben Bella's proposal to form a peoples' militia
- His dictatorship
- His unfulfilled promises
- Nepotism
- Corruption
- Army discontent (failure to address army needs)
- Insecurity
- Failure to stop neo – colonialism
- Failure of his social programmes
- Failure to command respect from the army

Other factors

- Greed for political power / political ambitions
- Foreign intrigue / cold war politics
- Ben Bella inherited a shuttered economy
- Influence of other coups in Africa

- Etc *(25 marks)*

NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW STATES
2013 U.A.C.E UNEB MARKING GUIDE
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1. Assess the impact of the 1935 Italo – Ethiopian Crisis on Ethiopia.

Preamble

- A viable introduction
- A candidate is expected to give and explain the positive and negative impact of the crisis on Ethiopia
- A good essay should have a stand point

Points to consider

(a) A viable introduction

Negative impact

(b) It ended the independence of Ethiopia in 1936

(c) Italy established its imperialism in Ethiopia

(d) Emperor Haile Selassie lost his throne leaving a power vacuum behind

(e) It humiliated the Ethiopian monarchy

(f) The Ethiopian army was defeated

(g) It led to the death of many Ethiopians

(h) Ethiopia lost the territory to Somaila – Ogaden

(i) The crisis caused divisions i.e. divided into provinces

(j) Racism was introduced in Ethiopia

(k) Environmental degradation

(l) Disunity was widened in Ethiopia e.g. the Galla rebelled against the Emperor.

(m) Ethiopian work of art were looted and taken to Rome e.g. the "Lion of Judah".

(n) Ethiopia became a victim of fascism

(o) Destruction of infrastructure in the country.

(p) It left a legacy of militarism in Ethiopia.

(q) Created border conflicts with the neighbors i.e. Somalia over Ogaden.

(r) Caused enemity between Ethiopia and Somalia.

Positive impact

(s) Increased unity in Ethiopia

(t) It won international friendship for Ethiopia against Italy

(u) There was military re-organization of Ethiopia after 1941.

(v) There was infrastructural developments e.g. roads, schools etc

(w) Ethiopia became founder member of the UNO in 1945.

(x) Increased the popularity of Ethiopia among the black Africans.

(y) Draw the church closer to the Ethiopian cause.

(z) Led to the formation of the black lions movement (BLM)

(aa) Created co-operation between Eritrea and Ethiopia against Italy.

(bb) Led to formation of the committee of Union in 1937.

2. To what extent did the Brazzaville conference contribute to the growth of African nationalism?

Preamble

- A viable introduction is required
- A candidate is expected to give and explain the contribution of the Brazzaville conference to the growth of African nationalism.
- Other factors are required
- A good stand point

Points to consider

(a) A viable definition of the Brazzaville conference and African nationalism

(b) Abolished forced labor in French territories

(c) Enfranchised Africans in the French territories i.e. voting rights

(d) Elevated the status of Africans in the French territories

(e) Paved way for the formation of political parties i.e. RDA, IOM in the French colonies.

(f) Creation of territorial assemblies.

(g) Increased African representation in the French assembly

(h) Increased French funding of its territories i.e. FIDE

(i) Recommended the extension of French civilization to the French Africa through the French languages.

(j) Abolished terms like unions and overseas territories replaced them with empires and colonies.

(k) Abolished arrests and imprisonment without trial.

(l) Laid foundation for the 1958 referendum that liberated Guinea Conakry.

(m) The unfulfilled promises of the conference increased resentment among the Africans.

(n) Influenced Britain to institute reforms in her colonies (political)

(o) Created grounds / policies that made African rights.

Other factors

(p) Colonial policies

(q) Independent African churches

(r) Independent African states

(s) Pan African Movement of 1900

(t) WWI 1914 – 1918

(u) Russian Revolution 1917

(v) Italo – Ethiopian Crisis 1935

(w) World War II 1939

(x) Atlantic Charter 1941

(y) Liberation of Ethiopia 1941

(z) UNO 1945

(aa) Labor party victory 1945

(bb) Increased activities of WASU 1945

(cc) Manchester Conference 1945

(dd) Role of super powers 1946

(ee) India's independence 1947

(ff) Apartheid 1948

(gg) China Communist victory 1949

(hh) Indonesia Independence 1950 / 51

(ii) Egyptian Revolution 1952

(jj) The Mau – Mau uprising 1952.

(kk) Vietnamese war 1954

(ll) Algerian war 1954 – 62

(mm) Bandung Conference / NAM 1955

(nn) Ghana's independence 1957

(oo) French Guinea 1958

(pp) Role of common wealth countries 1959

(qq) Wind of change speech 1960

(rr) OAU 1963

(ss) Urbanization (can came after WWII)

(tt) Political parties

(uu) Elites / western education

(vv) Mass media

(ww) Lisbon coup 1974.

3. "The Portuguese system of administration was primarily responsible for the outbreak of the 1961 Civil war in Angola". Discuss

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the role of the Portuguese system of administration in the outbreak of war of independence in Angola.

- Other factors are also required
- A good essay must have a stand point.

NB: The event that took place in 1961 was the liberation war.

Points to consider

(a) A viable introduction

(b) Portuguese oppressive and brutal acts against the people of Angola e.g. Neto

(c) Forced labor

(d) Poor education system

(e) Portuguese harsh reaction to peaceful protests

(f) Portuguese assimilation policies

(g) Turning Angola into a white settler colony

(h) Land grabbing

(i) Declaration of Angola as an overseas province

(j) Over taxation / unfair taxation policies

(k) Racism

(l) Contract labor – Sao – Tome, principle

(m) Forced cash crop growing

(n) Mineral exploitation

(o) Heavy deployment of Portuguese troops

(p) Portuguese allowed other Europeans to exploit Angola

(q) Failure to carryout constitutional / political reforms

(r) Undermining Angola's Independence etc.

Other factors

(s) Role of Angolan nationalists e.g. Neto

(t) Role of Cold war politics

(u) Ethnicity / tribalism especially the Bakongo of Northern Angola.

(v) Independence of neighboring states e.g. Congo, Congo Brazzaville

(w) Influence of WWII (outbreak + experiences)

(x) Declaration of the Atlantic charter 1941

(y) Formation of liberation movements e.g. MPLA, FNLA

(z) Existence of liberal whites i.e. Antonio Mariano

(aa) Role of UN (positive role)

(bb) Role of Guinea Conakry /Sekou Toure

4. To what extent did Sam Nujoma contribute to the struggle for independence in South West Africa (Namibia)?

Preamble

- A candidate is required to give and explain the role of Sam Nujoma in the struggle for independence.

Other factors

- A stand point is needed

Points to consider

(a) A viable introduction / background of Nujoma

(b) Mobilized workers in Namibia to protest against contract labor

(c) He founded the Ovambo peoples' organization in 1957

(d) He transformed O.P.O into SWAPO in 1966

(e) Provided leadership to the liberation struggle

(f) Opposed the introduction of apartheid policies in Namibia

(g) Started guerilla war fare against South Africa

(h) Sought for support from radical and socialist states

(i) Recruited and trained fighters in Tanzania and Angola

(j) He set up external bases in neighboring countries i.e. Tanzania and frontline states

(k) He petitioned UNO for Namibia's independence

(l) Won support of NAM

(m) Won the support of the Pan Africanists after 1958 i.e. Accra conference

(n) Won the support of OAU liberation committee

(o) He led the negotiations with the South African government

(p) Promoted unity

(q) Created alliances with other liberation movements in South Africa

(r) Received the independence of Namibia

(s) Opposed the turn hall conference proposal

(t) He set up a military wing called PLAN

Other factors

(u) The role of SWANU

(v) The end of cold war politics

(w) Collapse of the Triumvirate alliance

(x) Withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola

(y) Success of liberation movements in neighboring countries i.e. MPLA, ZANU – PF etc

(z) The role of Namibians

(aa) The coming to power of Fredrick De – Clerk

(bb) The wind of change speech 1960

(cc) Extreme brutality of South Africa hardened the souls of Namibians

(dd) The Lisbon coup of 1974.

(ee) Role of common wealth

5. Account for the adoption of the one party system of government in Tanzania after independence

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the factors for the adoption of a single party system of government in Tanzania after independence

Points to consider

(a) A viable definition is needed
(b) The popular support TANU got at independence
(c) Single party was cost effective
(d) Adoption of socialism through Arusha declaration
(e) Influence of Mwalimu J. Nyerere
(f) Need to promote political stability
(g) Fear of opposition
(h) Need for continuity of the program of the ruling party
(i) It was in line with the traditional culture (Africans)
(j) Need to ease smooth transfer of power
(k) Faster decision making
(l) Need to protect the independence of Tanzania
(m) Desire to promote unity
(n) Desire to promote regional development

NB: Guard against candidates that present merits of single party

6. Describe the social and economic developments in any **one** country in central Africa since independence.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to identify and explain the social and economic developments in any **one** of these countries.
  Mozambique, Zimbabwe,,Zambia¸, Malawi, Burundi, Rwanda, CAR, Congo Brazzaville, Congo, Chad, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea.

Points to consider

Social developments include;

(a) Education in primary, secondary and tertiary
(b) Improvement of Health services
(c) Food security
(d) Water supply
(e) Urbanization
(f) Housing
(g) Control of population
(h) Women emancipation
(i) Cultural development
(j) Religious tolerance
(k) Promotion of unity
(l) Poverty alleviation programs
(m) Promotion of games and sports

Economic developments include;

(n) Land redistribution policies
(o) Improvements in transport network
(p) Industrialization
(q) Agricultural modernization
(r) Improvements in financial institution
(s) Environmental improvements e.g. afforestation.
(t) Promotion of domestic and foreign investments
(u) Promotion of tourism
(v) Promotion of natural resources exploitation
(w) Promotion of trade through regional institutions
(x) Economic liberalization

7. Explain the factors that influenced the growth of Pan African Movement between 1945 and 1963

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the factors that influenced the growth of PAM between 1945 and 1963

Points to consider

(a) A viable definition of PAM is required
(b) European colonial oppressive and exploitative policies
(c) Racism in Africa, Britain and America
(d) Role of blacks in the diaspora
(e) Role of the black students movements e.g. WASU
(f) The Italo – Ethiopian invasion / / crisis 1935
(g) The Manchester Conference 1945
(h) Apartheid policy of 1948
(i) Mass media / press
(j) Mass political parties
(k) Egyptian revolution 1952
(l) Elites / impact of western education
(m) Independence of Ghana 1957 / Accra conference / role of Nkrumah
(n) Independence of French Guinea 1958 / Toure Sekou.
(o) Role of NAM after 1961 (Belgrade Conference)
(p) Artists / MDD appeals
(q) OAU 1963.

NB: Delete other factors for African nationalism, aims of PAM as factors.

8. How has neo – colonialism affected the development of any **one** African country since independence.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the positive and negative effects of neo – colonialism in the development of any **one** country in Africa.
- A stand point is required
- A candidate must identify one African country

Points to consider

(a) A viable definition of neo – colonialism is required.

Negative effects

(b) Continued exploitation of African resources
(c) Loss of independence / undermining
(d) Collapse of economic integrations
(e) Led to political instabilities i.e. coup – de – tat
(f) Africans produce what they can not consume and consume what they can't produce
(g) Sabotaged industrialization
(h) Made African countries to accumulate foreign debts
(i) Adoption of foreign cultures e.g. religions, languages etc
(j) Creation of neo – social classes between the rich and the poor / income inequalities
(k) Brain drain
(l) Undermined the African technology or craftsmanship
(m) Balance of payment problems accelerated
(n) Increased inter – state conflicts
(o) Profit repatriation / capital outflows
(p) Creation of puppet leaders in Africa
(q) African countries are dumping grounds
(r) Poor quality products

(s) Environmental destruction

(t) Promoted unemployment

(u) Made education theoretical / irrelevant / inappropriate

Positive effects

(v) Increased development aid

(w) Provision of relief aid (disaster stricken areas)

(x) Improved political stability in Africa

(y) Promoted functional democracy

(z) Bridges the investment gap

(aa) Infrastructural development

(bb) Technological transfer

(cc) Promotion of foreign trade

(dd) Improvement in the provision of social services i.e. education

(ee) Improved communication (electronic gadgets)

(ff) Offsetting budgetary deficits

(gg) Creation of employment opportunities

(hh) Filling of man power gap in Africa.

9. To what extent has the military contributed to the development of Libya since 1969?

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the contribution of the military to the development of Libya since 1969
- Other factors are required for development
- A good stand point must be provided

Points to consider

(a) A viable definition of the military government in Libya be provided

(b) Promoted unity in Libya

(c) Fought neo – colonialism tendencies in Libya

(d) Introduced the 3rd universal theory / Islamic socialism i.e. Jamahiriyah

(e) Introduction of popular participatory democracy

(f) Improved the army in Libya

(g) Political stability / law and order

(h) Popularized Libya

(i) Fought corruption

Economic developments

(j) Ensured balanced development

(k) Increased exploitation of oil

(l) Promoted industrialization

(m) Developed agriculture

(n) Development of social – economic infrastructure

(o) Provision of employment opportunities

(p) Land reclamation

(q) Afforestation / environment conservation

Social developments

(r) Improved health in Libya

(s) Improved education and made it compulsory and free

(t) Promoted family planning / population control

(u) Women emancipation

(v) Provided housing facilities

(w) Fought poverty

(x) Promoted Arab Culture

Other factors for development

(y) Natural resource endowment i.e. oil

(z) Small population of Libya

(aa) Absence of Ethinicism

(bb) The role of the Maghreb Union

(cc) Access to the Mediterranean Sea

(dd) Role of expatriates.

10. Examine the causes and effects of the 1966 military coup in Nigeria.

Preamble

- A candidate is expected to give and explain the causes of the 1966 military coup in Nigeria
- Effects are required

Points of consider

(a) A viable definition of 1966 Coups in Nigeria i.e. January and July.

Causes

(b) Constitutional mistakes / colonial legacy

(c) Weaknesses of independence constitution

(d) Religious differences

(e) Dictatorship of the federal government

(f) Rigging of elections in 1964

(g) The population census scandal 1963 / 64

(h) Ethnic rivalry

(i) Corruption within the federal government

(j) Army discontent

(k) Political violence

(l) Poor working conditions of civil servants

(m) Unemployment

(n) Unprincipled alliances / coalitions

(o) Regional economic imbalances

(p) Opportunistic politicians

(q) Discovery of oil in Eastern Nigeria

(r) Influence of other coups in Africa
(s) Delayed trial of Ibo officers
(t) Arbitrary use of power

Effects (negative)

(a) Led to the killing of chief Akintola (prominent politican)
(b) Led to the exilement of key politicians e.g. Azikiwe
(c) Destruction of property
(d) Paved way for the Biafran secession
(e) Increased foreign interference
(f) Militarized the politics of Nigeria
(g) Declaration of the state of emergence in the country
(h) Led to economic breakdown i.e. infrastructure

Positive effects

(i) Led to the overthrow of dictatorial governments
(j) Ironsi opened diplomatic relations within the western countries
(k) Oil revenue increased
(l) Led to restoration of some peace in Nigeria
(m) Checked embezzlement and corruption
(n) Led to creation of unitary government in Nigeria
(o) Coup plotters were arrested / imprisoned and "killed"

NEO COLONIALISM IN AFRICAN STATES

Neo colonialism refers to the dominancy of independent African states by either the former colonial masters or the developed and industrial states of the world.

NB: Neo-colonialism is secondary colonialism and the highest stage of imperialism in Africa.

Manifestations / Features of neo – colonialism in Africa

27. Giving of economic aid to African states with conditions attached. This aid comes from the USA, World Bank, IMF and foreign expatriates are sent to Africa to supervise the same.
28. Presence of multinational companies in African states (MNCs) in is a manifestation of Neo-colonialism. They are large scale companies e.g. coca-cola, MTN, Airtel, Shell, Barclays.

29. Refusal of donor countries to give aid for development e.g. the industrial development in African countries. All funds are diverted to social infrastructure like education and health.
30. Presence of numerous espionage(spy network) in African countries. These include FBI, CIA, Scotland Yard, KGB, these have continually reported Information from Africa including MOSSAD.
31. Control of commodity Prices in the world market by the rich countries of the world is a feature of neo colonialism. It should be noted that African countries are price takers and developed countries are price makers.
32. The signing of trade agreements and concessions is a feature of Neo – colonialism for example Uganda and Belgium in 1979 during the reign of Amin Dada.
33. The continuation of colonial economic policies in African countries e.g. relying on agriculture as a raw material, being more importers of manufactured goods from the rich countries.
34. Lack of industrialization by the post independent African states is a feature of neo – colonialism. African countries are still in traditional stage of production where agriculture is dominant.
35. The collapse of economic integrations is partly related to neo – colonialism, this has been caused by the intervention of western companies hence higher competition.
36. Imposition of colonial constitutions in African countries is a form of Neo – colonialism i.e. African countries have still articles enshrined in their constitutions right from the colonial times i.e. the British, the French and the Dutch.
37. Presence of white settlers in African countries is a sign of neo colonialism e.g S.A, Kenya, Zimbabwe.
38. Relying on advice of expatriates in the decision making of African countries e.g. Senegal by 1960 getting advice from the French.
39. The attempt to maintain military bases in newly independent African states is a sign of neo-colonialism e.g. Britain in Egypt, Belgium in Zaire (Congo) USA / USSR in Somalia and Ethiopia, France and Belgium in Rwanda.
40. The engineering / supporting of military coups in Africa is a sign of neo – colonialism. These include the 1971 coup in Uganda supported by Britain, the 1974 coup in Ethiopia supported by Russia, etc
41. The education system in African countries based in African countries i.e. More theoretical than practical also based on the foreign curriculum.
42. Direct involvement of developed countries in the internal affairs of African states. This is exemplified by USA in Somalia, France in Nigeria between 1967- 1970 during the Biafra secession, Belgium in Rwanda between 1990 and 1994 during the genocide.
43. Association of independent African states with the former colonial masters e.g. commonwealth for the colonial master, Francophone for the French colonies

44. Use of evangelism in African states is a manifestation of Neo colonialism; this is manifested in the emergence of numerous churches in African states that has caused divisions in church.
45. Western European type of democracy in African states i.e. political pluralism, i.e. the existence of multi party politics as a precondition for foreign aid.
46. The use of foreign languages by African countries like English, Germany, French, Latin etc which has compromised the local languages hence undermining African unity.
47. The use of print and electronic media in African countries e.g. Magazines, Films, YouTube, twitter, Skype, Facebook, Google+ which have had a direct impact on African countries.
48. Sponsoring of rebels / opposition leaders against the governments in power i.e. giving them Forum to express their ideas e.g. the civil societies.
49. Technological transfer / the use of foreign technologies
50. Existence of foreign ideologies e.g. capitalism and communism
51. Dominance of NGOs like DANIDA, USAID, UKAID etc.
52. Western cultural imperialism reflected in the dress code i.e. see through, damaged jeans

Question

Assess the impact of neo – colonialism on the development of any one state of Africa

- Give a viable introduction i.e. definition of neo – colonialism
- Country identified and consisted.
- Positive effect of neo – colonialism
- Other factors for development
- Valid stand points.

Neo – colonialism is the hidden hand of dominance and exploitation of African independent states by former colonial masters or industrialized and developed nations.

The impact of neo -colonialism on development include the following:-

- Has led to increased development aid in African countries to fund projects e.g. establishing social services
- Neo - colonialism has provided emergence program relief aid in areas struck by disaster / calamities e.g. the Bududa case for Uganda.

- Has improved on political stability of African countries through the extension of military aid.
- Has encouraged the growth of functional democracy through institutions hence promoting peace e.g. the civil societies.
- Neo – colonialism has promoted good international relations i.e. form the countries giving aid e.g. the Chinese have infiltrated African continent.
- Has promoted technological transfers that have promoted increased productivity, improved quality services and goods.
- Neo – colonialism has helped to bridge the investment gap in African states. This has helped to alleviate unemployment and increased revenue collection in the long run.
- Has improved on the provision of the social survives e.g. education and health through the grants extended to Africa.
- Has eased communication through the introduction of international languages like English, French, Latin. Also electronic gadgets like phones and other plat forms have globalised the world.
- Promoted industrialization through direct foreign investment (FDI) and the multi – national investments. This has helped to improve on the growth path in Africa.
- Helped to fill the man power gap in Africa through the access of foreign expatriates.
- Has ensured government accountability through the supervision of projects under funding. This has helped to check on the institutionalized corruption in African countries.
- Have off set the budgetary deficits in African states. This is because the budgets of African states are not nationally funded.
- Promoted infrastructural development that has increased accessibility in Africa. This ranges from roads set up to increase marketing and finalizing development.

OTHER FACTORS FOR DEVELOPMENT

- Natural resource endowment e.g. the harnessing of the available minerals e.g. Albertine oil in Uganda, oil in Nigeria, diamond in Tanzania
- The political stability that attract both local and foreign investment

- Availability of plentiful labor i.e. cheap and skilled to work in different sectors.
- The formation and membership to regional cooperation e.g. EAC, ECOWAS, COMESA, SADC, etc
- The positive government policies on investment and development e.g. tax holidays for investors, subsidies etc.
- People's positive attitude towards change i.e. hardworking populace.
- The existence of fertile soils that favor flourishing agriculture
- The able and focused leadership in terms of governance

Question

5 To what extent has neo – colonialism undermined the development of African states

6 How far has neo – colonialism undermined the development of any one state in East Africa

7 To what extent has neo – colonialism contributed to the under development of African states

Roles of neo – colonialism in under developed states is as below:-

- Accelerated the foreign manipulation in decision making in African states
- Led to the continued exploitation of African resources
- Has undermined African independence where policies are determined by the developed world.
- Contributed to the collapse of African integrations e.g. EAC in East Africa by 1977
- Perpectuated political instabilities and coup – detats in Africa e.g. 1971 in Uganda, 1965 in Congo 1965 in Algeria etc.
- Made African states to be producers of what they can't consume and consume what they don't produce/
- Sabotaged industrialization programs in Africa.
- Influenced African states to accumulate foreign debts which keep in the viscous cycle of poverty.

- Led to cultural erosion through the demonstration effects e.g. foreign religions and languages.
- Has created a neo – social class society i.e. the rich and the poor which has increases income inequality with all the associated evils.
- Expanded the concept of brain drain making African states to be raped of technical experts.
- Has undermined African technological advancement or destruction of African craftsmanship innovation and inventions. These are precursors to development.
- Led to persistent balance of payment problems in Africa hence leaving African states impoverished i.e. developed states determine the market prices of goods.
- Made African states to adopt foreign ideologies like capitalism and communism. This has undermined non – aligned movement (NAM) and long term problems can't be handled.
- Increased project repatriation or capital outflow by foreign investors. This has undermined capital accumulation in Africa.
- Promoted environmental degradation through the industries set up i.e. failure to control pollution which decimates the life span of Africans.
- Unemployment has increased due to unfavorable structural adjustment programs (SAPS) imposed on Africans i.e. forced retrenchment to downsize the numbers.
- Created puppet leaders in Africa who dance to the tunes of the supporters form the developed world.
- Made African education to be more theoretical or irrelevant or inappropriate to the current problems of African states.
- Made African states to be dumping grounds for poor quality products. These have side effects on the life of Africans.
- Increased immorality in African states e.g. prostitution and homosexuality.
- Neo – colonialism in form of aid has caused inflationary problems i.e. goods imported from inflated states.
- Devalued the currencies of African states. This is because determination of value is judged according to dollars, pounds etc.

OTHER FACTORS

- Weak leadership in Africa
- Internal disunity in Africa which undermines development
- Poor government planning and priotization i.e. neglect of agriculture vs defense to increase political longevity
- Corruption and embezzlement in government sectors
- Tribalism / nepotism and favoritism which causes unfair decisions
- Existence of unstable political systems which scare investors.
- Low levels of technological advancement.
- Cultural rigidities / indoctrinations e.g. some peasants fear to use tractors for fear of causing soil infertility

Question

How has neo – colonialism affected the development of any one African country since independence?

Assess / examine the impact of neo – colonialism on the people in any one state in central Africa.

NB:

on people / country – positive or negative

Impact on the development – positive vs other factors.

NATIONALISM IN NIGERIA

Nigeria was colonized by Britain and it delayed to get independence due to tribalism. The leading nationalist was Nnamdi Azikiwe who formed the NCNC i.e. the national council of Nigeria and the Cameroon in 1944, but dominated by the Ibo from the Eastern Nigeria, the Action Group (AG) Dominated by the Yoruba of the south, the national people's congress (NPC) by the northerners among others.

Nigeria received her independence on 1st October 1960 when the leader of NCNC Nnamdi Azikiwe became the governor general and later president and Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa the leader of NPC became eh prime minister up to 1966 when the government was overthrown through a coup.

THE 1966 NIGERIAN COUPS (JANUARY / JULY)

It should be noted that the instabilities in Nigerian politics was pegged on colonial legacy. The divisionism in the country that rotated on the political parties formed created a situation of animosity.

On 15th January, 1966, a bloody coup was staged by the Ibo officers from the eastern part by Nigeria. The coup eliminated the PM Tafawa Balewa and the Ibo dominated the government led by General Aquiyi Ironsi. Ironsi was also over thrown in July 1966 by Yakoub Gowon.

Leaders of the January coup included major Emmanuel Ifeajune, major Okafor and major Adewale. July – Gowon was called to pacify the Nigerian politics.

CAUSES OF THE COUPS IN NIGERIA (1966)

1 .The colonial legacy of divide and rule created a shaky ground. The independence constitution came up with federalism based on regions and ethnic differences. This forced the easterners and northerners to stage coups.

2 .Pre – mature independence granted to Nigeria. No proper preparation of the leaders hence blundered a lot.

3 .Religious differences between the Moslem North and the Christian south. Worsened by the implementation of the Sharia law in the Christian south.

4 .The 1963 – 1964 population scandal which reflected and inflated the statistics of the north. This inspired the Ibo in the east to stop the domination of the northerners.

5 The discovery of oil in the Eastern Nigeria that motivated the Ironsi group to stage the coup.

6 The existence of corruption and economic mismanagement by Tafewa's government embezzled the government funds and attracted the large firms to invest at the expense of other regions.

7 The mal – practices related to the 1965 federal elections, rigged and made Tafawa to be victorious hence created annoyance leading to coup.

8 The introduction of the army into the politics of Nigeria. Some had served as ex – service mean of World War II, took part in the Katanga secession hence mobilizing soldiers to fight.

9 The personal ambitions of Ibo offices like Ironsi and northerners like Gowon.

10 The ethnicity manifested in promotions, employment and recruitment created army intervention, the government civil service and army dominated by the northerners.

11 The influence of other successful coups in Africa e.g. the 1963 coup in Togo, the 1965 in Congo by Mobutu and Bourmedienne against Ahmed Ben Bella.

12 The poor working conditions in Nigeria i.e. wide spread unemployment, inflation and general poverty of the populace e.g. the southerners.

13 Grievances of the army, i.e. low Salaries, Ltd promoted among others.

14 The role of mass media e.g. the Hausa Vernacular newspaper that published Vengeance (revenge) messages against the Ibo.

15 The impact of the spread of rumors e.g. the January rumor that the northerners army officers were plotting to kill Ibo officers and the July coup that Ibo army officers planned to kill the northerner officers.

EFFECTS OF THE COUP

POSITIVE

1 .Led to the overthrow of Sir Tafawa Abubaker who was a dictator.

2 .Led to the rise of relatively reformed and democratic leaders e.g. Ironsi.

3 The new government tried to reconcile the Nigerian tribes i.e. Ibo, Hausa and Fulani.

4 Ironsi's government registered economic development i.e. infrastructure and education.

5 Unitary government system was introduced to replace regionalism and federalism.

6 Public service was reformed and jobs were acquired on merit.

7 Ironsi reformed the army and promotion was regulated.

8 Ironsi arrested some of the people in the government considered as wrong doers and the date for the persecution was set. The coup plotters like Major Emmanuel Ifeajuna, major Okafor and major Adewale.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS

9 .The government that came to power in January 1966 was ineffective.

10 The military regime later resurrected ethnic tension or differences through the tribal appointments.

11 The Ibo dominance in the politics was replaced by the Hausa and Fulani domination.

12 The coup led to the murder of prominent politicians and military figures e.g. Tafawa Balewa, Ahmad Bello, Chief Akintole from Yoruba etc

13 Ironsi later turned into a dictator and was over thrown by Gowon in July 1966.

14 The coupled to the consolidation of the military in the Nigerian politics.

15 The military regime failed to control inflation in Nigeria.

16 The January coup influenced the attempted secession of Biafra from 1967 – 1970.

17 The political events of 1966 perpetuated new – colonialism in Nigeria

18 The coups made Gowon to re-establish the federal type of government that had been replaced by unitary of Ironsi.

THE BIAFRAN SECESSION / THE CIVIL WAR 1967 - 1970

The Biafran secession was the attempted break away of the region of Biafra from the rest of Nigeria. It took place on 30th, may 1967 when the governor of the Eastern part of Nigerian col. Odumwengu Ojukwu proclaimed the independence of the eastern region.

The federal government of Gowon launched an offensive in July 1967 in an attempt to refuse the break away.

CAUSES OF THE BIAFRAN SECESSION OR CIVIL WAR

1 .The discovery of oil in the eastern Nigeria contributed to the secession. The Ibo wanted to have control of the oil resource in order to transform the region. This followed the siphoning of the oil resource in terms of revenue without developing eastern Nigeria. This created conflict between the central government and led to the Biafran crisis.

2 .The Massacre of the Ibo across Nigeria also led to the crisis. Upon Yakoub Gowon's coming to power, he started revenging against the Ibo, he embarked on the systematic genocide against the Ibo soldiers and civilians. In 1966, thousands of Ibo soldiers were killed including Gen. Ironsi. The secession was intended to protect the Ibo from the brutality of Gowon's government.

3 The ethnic rivalry led to the secession. This happened between the major groups i.e. the Fulani, Hausa and the Ibo, Yoruba.

These conflicted to dominate the affairs of Nigeria and even the political parties were ethnically based e.g. the NCNC for the Ibo, the NPC for the Fulani and Hausa, the AG for the Yoruba. This created hostility between the various tribes leading to the Nigerian 1967 crisis.

4 The 1963 – 1964 population scandal contributed to the crisis. According to the federal government, resources were to be allocated in line with population density. The population results exaggerated the statistics of the north to take advantage of the

national cake. The majority easterners felt isolated and cheated hence opted for the secession attempt.

5 The northern domination of the political power since independence caused the crisis. The northern region dominated the politics of Nigeria since independence i.e. Sir Abubaker Tafawa became the PM, his government was dominated by the Hausa – Fulani. When Yakoub Gowon came to the power in 1966 – July the Hausa – Fulani continued to dominate Nigeria leaving aside the Igbo hence the secession attempt.

6 The religious differences also caused the civil war in Nigeria. The north was occupied by the Moslems (Hausa – Fulani) where as the eastern of the Ibo were Christians. Religious differences created hatred and tension between the east and the north. This made co – existence very impossible.

7 The colonial legacy was partly to blame for the crisis. In the 60years stay of the British in Nigeria, they never emphasized national unity and divided Nigeria into northern, eastern, western and southern regions. Each of these regions was governed separately and this made people to look at themselves in terms of regions. This was worsened by direct rule which emphasized loyalty hence problems boiled up by 1967 for the break way.

8 Corruption and inefficiency in the federal government led to the crisis. The government of Yakoub Gowon was characterized by embezzlement and misappropriation of the resources. The northerners used their powers to plunder resources for personal gains. Gowon did nothing to establish a corrupt free society.

9 The declaration of the 12 state structures in May 1967 prompted the secession. This was reacted to negatively by the tribalism. Gowon had issued a decree dividing the country into 12 states deprived the Ibo of the oil wealth which they opposed. This led to the break away in 1967.

10 The declining economic situation in Nigeria laid a foundation for the secession. The political turmoil that happened between 1966 and 1967 caused economic decline in Nigeria. This stretched as far as 1964 when prices of essential commodities hiked by 15%, wages fell below the minimum leading to increased unemployment, the

standards of living of people became miserable. This completed the easterners dominated by the Ibo to breakaway due to the precarious economic conditions.

11 Odumwengu Ojukwu's personality and power ambitions led to the crisis. He was arrogant and uncompromising, he was determined to create the state of Biafra at all costs Ojukwu turned down all attempt by the federal government to create peace in eastern Nigeria. He had ambitious of ruling Nigeria, but his efforts or hopes were being blocked by the northern domination of the government affairs. This compelled the Ojukwu group to declare Biafra secession in 1967.

12 The 1966 July coup also contributed to the civil war in Nigeria. The coup led to the coming to power of Yakoub Gowon in Nigeria after overthrowing Ironsi whom he later assassinated. This was followed by massacring of 1000s of Ibos in the areas of Kaduna, Sokoto and Zaria. The Ibos were forced to migrate back to their tribal homelands in the east hence declaring the Biafra republic.

13 The economic prosperity of the Ibo land also promoted the secession. The eastern region was economically developed especially in terms of fertile soils, reliable rainfall that sustained agriculture to support the large population. It had developed infrastructure especially the Port Harcourt and this made the area to boom economically, hence compelling the secession attempt.

14 The unification decree by general Ironsi also laid grounds for the civil war. Ironsi had thought of abolishing the federal government in Nigeria and establish a unitary state. This was to be under a single government to ensure effective service delivery. The decree however became unpopular and resulted into riots in Nigeria. This regenerated into the 1967 when the Ibo got back to their homeland.

15 The conflict and struggle for government positions also led to the civil war. The largest population in Nigeria struggled for the limited slots of public services. This caused tension which culminated into the Biafra crisis. There was conflict in the army when the quota system was introduced in which 50% of the army officers were to come from the north, 25% from east and 25% from the west. The implication was that the northerners were to dominate the army and Ibo felt, marginalized prompting the civil war in 1967.

16 The expected external support to the Ojukwu led to the secession attempt. The USA, France and other oil producing companies provided support with a hope of benefiting if Biafra succeeds. These countries expected to cheaply by the oil and this gave Ojukwu confidence to declare the state of Biafra.

17 The influence of the attempted Katanga secession of 1960 – 1963 in Congo inspired the Biafrans. Some Ibo soldiers had been sent to Katanga to create peace. The participation gave the Ibo soldiers the chance to gain ideas which prompted them to work on the mistakes of the Katanga, hence the attempted break away in 1967.

Reference questions

1 .Account for the outbreak of the Biafran Crisis in 1967.

2 Examine the causes and effect of the civil war in Nigeria between 1967 –1970.

3 "The economic factors were primarily responsible for the 1967 – 1970 Biafran seccesion". Discuss

EFFECTS OF BIAFRAN SECESSION

1 .The new state of Biafra was defeated by the federal government of Yokubu Gowon. Ojukwu fled to Ivory Coast and Nigeria united to defend the territory integrity and independence.

2 Attempts were made to unite and rebuild the nation. Economic reforms were carried out e.g. the second development plan of 1974 was launched, the 3rd development plan of 1975 put emphasis on constitution, agriculture, industry and infrastructure, 32 billion Naira was put aside for development project.

3 Gowon made efforts to reconcile the people of Nigeria. He visited the Ibo territories and encouraged the people to forget the past differences and work towards national unity, peace and stability.

4 Nigeria was restructured politically by Gowon. The country was divided into 12 states to avoid ethnic conflicts.

5 The Biafra crisis led to the militarization of Nigerian policies i.e. intervention of their army. The army reasoned that no civilian government could handle Nigerian problems and curb tribal conflicts.

This made Nigeria to be a hub of military coups e.g. Gowon was over thrown in 1975 by Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, Murtala replaced by San Abacha, 1999 elections won by Olusegun Obasanjo.

6 The crisis led to the emergences of new leaders in Nigeria e.g. Olusegun who became the high commander of the army. This is attributed to his popularity in fighting the Biafrans.

7 The secession attempt resulted into refugee's crisis in the region. Many people were displaced and several Ibos fled to neighboring countries like Niger and Ivory coast.

8 There was a decline in the economy of Nigeria as economic activities were paralyzed. Agriculture, industry and oil drilling declined. A lot of money was wasted on buying weapons. The social and economic infrastructure got destroyed like roads, hospitals and urban centres.

9 The crisis promoted neo – colonialism in Nigeria. This is because Britain extended aid to rehabilitate the destroyed economy hence continued to influence Nigerian affairs.

REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT OF BIAFRAN SECESSION

1 .Opposition from the rest of Nigeria contributed to its failure. The Hausa - Fulani, Yoruba all opposed the secession of Biafra from the united Nigeria. This made it unpopular and contributed to its failure by 1970.

2 The fleeing / flight of Colonel Odumwengu Ojukwu to Ivory coast led to failure of the secession. Ojukwu was forced to run away for safety of his life and the Biafra forces lost his ground leadership. The resistors could not effectively fight the federal government hence surrendered by 1970.

3 Opposition from some Ibo in Nigeria also contributed to the defeat of Biafra. These included Nnamdi Azikiwe and other University lecturers opposed the state of Biafra

due to lack of trust in Ojukwu. They collaborated with the federal government to defeat the sinister motives of Ojukwu.

4 The successful military strategy employed by the federal government. The government blocked all the routes leading to Ibo land and this was intended to cut off the Ibo from handy support, supplies into the Biafran state. This weakened the fighters by 1970.

5 The support and assistance from the ex – services men to the federal government. These soldiers extended support and the vast experience to the federal forces to defeat the separatist forces of Biafra.

6 The determination of the federal government to protect the independence of Nigeria. The federal government was determined to defend independence and integrity and gain firm control of the resources like oil and use it for the national development.

7 The high degree of discipline exhibited by the federal forces. They fought bravely to avoid killing of the innocent people. On the contrary, the Biafrans raped, vandalized property hence becoming unpopular in the public domain (eye). This later led to defeat in 1970.

8 The sound economic strength of the federal government accounts for the defeat. The federal government had resources to sustain the war and the government was able to purchase the modern machinery.

Also the army was highly paid which kept the morale high to fight the Biafra state.

9 The massive death of Ibo soldiers during the war and in the 1966 coup. The July coup of Gowon systematically exterminated many Ibo soldiers as a way of revenge. This alienated Ojukwu to have military experienced soldiers who could bring about victory.

10 The prolonged famine also contributed to the Biafra defeat. The effective strategy of the federal government denied the Ibo fighters food supplies amidst limited agricultural activities.

11 Overwhelming support to the federal government contributed to the defeat by 1970. The federal government received support from the European powers and they weakened the lonely Biafrans.

12 The role of OAU and Pan African Movement led to the defeat of Biafra. The OAU condemned the breakaway and treated it as sub – nationalism and micro nationalism. It took a firm stand and called upon the member states to denounce and deny the Biafrans support.

13 The military superiority of the federal government led to the defeat. This was in terms of man power that totaled to 120,000 fighters who fought a small and inexperienced Biafrans. This numerical advantage led to the defeat of the Biafran by 1970.

14 The role of the United Nations led to the defeat of Biafra. The UN forced France to withdraw support the Biafrans and this greatly undermined the success.

Question

1 .Account for the defeat of the Biafran secession by 1970.

2 .Examine the factors which undermined the success of the Nigerian civil war between 1967 and 1970.

MULTI – PARTY SYSTEMS/DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Multi – party politics or systems refer to the existence of more than one party in a country.

Or:

A system where political parties are allowed to contest for National leadership without restrictions in a given country

QN

To what extent has the Multi-Party Political System met the aspirations of the independent African states?

- Define multi – party system
- Give and explain the aspirations of independent African states
- Give the degree to which multi-partysim has achieved the aspirations of the people
- Failures of the multi – party system

- Standpoint

ASPIRATIONS OF MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Promotion of freedom of choice

Promotion of fundamental human rights

Enhancing unity and diversity

Promote competition in politics for national development

To match with the IMF policies for development

To promote liberalization and privatization policies

To provide alternative leadership (checks and balances) e.g. the free operation of arms of government i.e. executive, legislative and judiciary

To promote the smooth transfer of power i.e. promotion of functional democracy

ACHIEVEMENTS OF MULTI-PARTY IN AFRICA

It has promoted peaceful transfer of power in most countries of Africa. This has guaranteed effective functional democracy in Tanzania from Nyerere, to Hassan Mwinyi, to Mkapa, to Jakaya Kikwete, in Kenya, South Africa from Nelson Mandela, Thambo Mbeki and finally to Jacob Zuuma.

It has undermined the dictatorship of one party rule in Africa. Single party systems always oppress, arrest, detain opposition leaders without trial like in Kenya in 1970's when Oginga Odinga, George Anyona were arrested but in 1992 Moi and KANU were removed by a formidable opposition led by NARC to Mwai Kibaki to adopt Multi-party in Kenya.

It has promoted civilian rule in African countries of Kenya, Senegal and other parts of Africa. Multi party politics has made civilian leaders to access power as leaders of states and members of parliament which has worked for people.

There has been mass participation in politics through regular and fair elections. This has been witnessed in Senegal where a large percentage of nationals get involved in the election of their leaders without regret.

Multi party systems have promoted fundamental human rights in independent African countries. These are evident in Tanzania, Senegal, Ghana e.g. freedom of association, movement, speech and respect of the media and media houses professional reporting.

It has ensured the promotion of liberal democratic rule in Africa. Countries like Tanzania, Kenya have had competitive and live debates in parliament that have yielded positively towards the development of their respective countries.

- Multi party systems have improved relations with IMF and the World Bank. This has worked in Senegal and Tanzania where funds are put to their rightful use without mismanagement in terms of funding problems and alleviating chronic diseases.

Multi party systems have compelled the ruling parties to be highly accountable to the masses. This is very common in South Africa, Tanzania and Ghana where there are peaceful elections held; the incumbents have always worked for the people to ensure continuity and longevity of their terms in government.

Independent African countries have attracted aid from the western powers for development attributed to multi party democracy. The development countries of Europe have encouraged the adoption of western model of democracy that ensures uniform and balanced democracy for the goods of the citizens.

It has weakened ethnic tendencies and promoted National Unity. Most of the parties have cut across regions, tribes and religion and have brought so many people on board for National development. This has been seen in Tanzania in Chamma cha Mapenduzi formed after merging Afro-Shirazi Party and TANU.

It has promoted National economic development through liberal economic policies. The policies in such governments are uniform and deliberated upon e.g. developing industrialization in Kenya, South Africa and Ghana.

Multi party systems have promoted stability and peace. This is seen in Tanzania, Ghana after the numerous coups and Senegal. This has ensured development un-interrupted in these countries which is a precursor in these countries.

Corruption has been minimized in countries that have adopted multi-party democracy e.g. Senegal, exercised the aspect of smart leadership as many have always been tried for the crimes connected to economic blunders during their terms of office e.g. Malawi and Zambia.

Multi party systems expose the weakness of ruling parties. This is evident in Kenya, Uganda, Senegal etc. the excess of the ruling party like NRM have always been checked by the parties of FDC, CP, DP etc, in Kenya NARC and ODM have always brought plausible reforms for constructive development.

The rampant occurrence of coups have been checked due to the practice of multi-partysm. Countries like Ghana, Nigeria, DRC and Uganda witnessed unprincipled coups due to lack of forum for discussion. The political dispensation in these countries has helped to make leaders accountable and allow the citizens to express their voices.

FAILURES:

It has compounded the existence of undemocratic intolerance towards opposition. In countries like Uganda, Kenya, DRC, the opposition has been grossly disregarded, there are arbitrary arrests for tramped up cases without provision in the National constitution of these counties e.g. handling the opposition leaders on police vehicles without respect of their rights.

The system of multi-partysim has led to rigging of elections in independent African countries. This was witnessed in Ghana (1964), Uganda (1980 to date), Kenya (2007). This is done through under funding voter education not to have adequate information, intimidation by the army used by the incumbent, political patronage etc.

It has promoted disunity between regions, tribes and religions. Some parties have been founded on religion and tribal basis e.g. democratic party in Uganda for the Catholics and Baganda. Others not balancing political appointments regionally which has caused intrigue within the party and the public

Multi – party system is very expensive to manage for the independent African countries for effective operation, multi-party system requires civil education about the advantages of the system up to the grass roots, African countries cannot ably fund 50% of their budget and therefore expense on multi-party is compromised.

Multi-party systems have failed to eliminate corruption and mismanagement of National resources. The party in power tries to consolidate itself by bribery and swindling billions of money, misusing the international grants as they are not sure of their continued stay in power e.g. Uganda, Kenya etc.

It has encouraged the dictatorship of the majority in Parliament. This is very common in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, and South Africa where majority of the MPs belong to the ruling party and are given money to canvass for votes using national resources. In African parliaments, there is lack of objectivity in politics, a lot of rubber stamping to justify the wishes of the ruling government

It has promoted neo- colonialism i.e. different parties being funded by outside donor countries to support their policies e.g. Germany, Russia, China, UK and Americans. This has no lasting effects on African leadership.

Qn

4. **Examine the merits and demerits of multi party democracy in any one African country**
5. **"Multi party political system is the most suitable from the government for the independent African states." Discuss**
6. **Account for the resumption of Multi party political activities in Kenya by 1992**

The agitation and pressure for multi party democracy were mounted in the early 1990's. This was led by radical politicians, academics, professionals and clergy men including Jaramoji Oginga Odinga, Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba, Raila Odinga, Wangan Manthai, Reverend TImonty Njoya, Bishop Alexander Mugei etc.

In 1992, there was constitutional amendment that restored multi partyisum that led to the removal of Arab Moi and KANU from power by the unity of opposition i.e. National Rainbow coalition (NARC) headed by Mwai Kibaki who established government in 2003 other parties in Kenya included ODM (Orange Democratic Movement) by Raila Odinga and party of National Unity (PNU)

Multi party activities were resumed in Kenya due to the following;

The alleged election rigging of March 1988 where candidates with short Mcolongo (queues) were declared winners compelled the people of Kenya to adopt Multi party democracy.

KANU's failure to accept positive criticism from the people . These people were always grilled, suspended, expelled and incarcerated without trial which created a fertile ground for volatile opposition e.g. after 1978, following the death of Kenyatta, Moi had adopted violent and repressive policies against the opponents.

The development in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (the end of cold war politics) the ideological wars had helped to accentuate a one party system in Kenya which disappeared with the end of cold war and opened up multi party democracy.

Pressure from the international donor community e.g. World Bank and IMF. These international bodies have always set conditions for aid and adoption of multi party and this forced Kenya to adopt multi party system in order to get aid.

Influence from other African countries like Zambia led to resumption of multi party democracy in Kenya. President Kenneth Kaunda had opened up multi party, the likes of children were allowed to compete for elections and it led to the emergence of political parties e.g. United Progressive Party (UPP), multi party Demo (MMS).

The role of multi party activists like Clergy, politicians and respected lawyers and journalists who mounted pressure for change e.g. Rail Odinga, Bishop Henry Okulu, Mwai Kibaki etc.

The July 1990 Sabasaba riots in Nairobi and other towns in which people were arrested and killed made Kenya to adopt multi party. People like Charles Rubia, Kenneth Matiba, Raila Odinga were arrested, others were assassinated and this mounted a lot of pressure on the government to open up political space in 1992.

The Saitoti review commission and its subsequent recommendations led to multi party system in Kenya. The committee recommended a lot of reforms but the KANU government and Moi failed to adopt the recommendations forwarded by the people. This annoyed the largest number of people who pressed for multi party politics that would bring fundamental changes.

The ethnic rivalry in Kenya accounts for the resumption of multi party politics. It is true that upon the ascendance to power of President Daniel Arap Moi in 1978, he showed signs of tribal repression e.g. the Kalenjin community against other tribes. This led to abortive coups in 1982, arrests, detentions hence the urge for multi party systems in Kenya.

The increased levels of education in Kenya accounted for multi party democracy in 1992. Kenyans have acquired education much higher compared to the 3 East African countries. Kenya has a cross section of professionals like journalists, teachers, lawyers and economists who exercise the highest intellect in political development in Kenya and world over. These demanded for multi party democracy e.g. Raila Odinga ,Mwai Kibaki etc.

The promotion of the principles of human rights e.g. freedom of association, speech, free and fair reporting by the media, freedom to choice in politics without dues (force).

Legislation of multi party democracy in1990 was due to the adoption of radical approaches by intellectuals like Masinde, Muliro, Charity Ngilu, Ibrahim Mohammed that forced President Moi to effect constitutional amendments

The collapse of the society union in1990 that had supported the idea of single party politics in Kenya

Failure of the single party government (KANU) in Kenya to check on the corruption and mismanagement of the public funds. This created from for political activism in Kenya.

Multi partism was adopted to alleviate the problems in Kenya's civil service and check on brain drain. This was intended to check the human resource flight and create employment for the Kenyans.

The untimely death of Jomo Kenyatta and other believers in single party politics like Nyerere led to multi party politics in Kenya. Kenyatta had been respected and had neutralized tribal conflicts, his death plunged the country into political chaos that was an impediment to democracy.

Multi partysim was adopted as an attempt to attract the Kenyan elites from the diaspora back to Kenya and take up leadership roles e.g. Mwai Kibaki from Makerere University as a lecturer to become President of Kenya.

The effects of globalization which is a new world order that takes into account the respect for human rights, gender sensitivity and empowerment. These forces made Kenya to adopt multi party democracy.

The pressure from trade unions made Moi to open up for political space. The trade unions world over represent the interests of the working class and fight for their welfare. The trade unions in Kenya had a leveled ground that made Moi to open up the space for political pluralism.

CAF

The central African federation was established in 1953 as a constitutional arrangement of the 3 protectorates of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It was a loose union of 3 colonies that existed up to 1963 under the key players of Huggins and Welensky with headquarters in Salisbury (Harare).

Reasons for the formation

Need to reduce with of colonial administration in the C/A. the colonial office in London that this would ease administration and separateness of the colonies wouldn't help them govern the area and would require more governors.

The political and economic status of the white settlers led to the creation of CAF. The whites had art a masterly position and did not want Africans to threaten it. CAF we formed to want Africans to threaten it. CAF we formed to promote the recruit policy and extend definition resistance hence the governor like Roy Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins supported the idea of CAF.

The influence of apartheid policy/system in South Africa led to the creation of CAF. The success of the racist apartheid regime in South Africa gave the whites in C/A hope that it is easy to impose racist policies on Africans given the triumvirate alliance.

Need to promote the economic inter dependence of British colonies in Central Africa. This is because Southern Rhodesia had industrialized and had commercial activities, Northern Rhodesia had the crops and mining of copper, Nyasaland provided the cheap labor. For also water to tap the market in these regions and also provide British invest of markets in the region by using the resources what the colonies.

The fear of the growing threat of the Africans nationalism led to the creation of CAF. Africans had began being restless given the effect of World War II and began advocating for self rule and freedoms. Others had become violent to uproot colonialists. The whites therefore created CAF in order to certain African nationalism and prevent the independence of the protectorates.

Need to create an alternative area for investment led to creation of CAF. The British and other capitalists wanted to get a good investment area in order to escape the nationalization policy of the racist government of the Afrikaners after 1948. The whites therefore created CAF not to lose their wealth to the Afrikaners in South Africa.

Pressure created by the increased influx of the white settlers from Britain led to creation of CAF. The whites from Britain especially due to effects of World War II did not have land for settlement and jobs to improve their welfare. It is also true that over 16000 white immigrants had settled in Southern Rhodesia and hence there was need to get more land by bringing the protectorates together.

Need to secure future political independence of the whites led to the creation of CAF. The whites in 1923 had acquired internal autonomous status in salisbury from the colonial secretariat i.e. had independent LEGCO, police army and fiscal policy (taxation). This gave them more strength and authority to use the federation to challenge the imperial power/authority hence CAF.

The role of Sir Andrew Cohen facilitated the creation of CAF. He was a powerful liberal and influenced the London conference of 1950 that hatched the plan of the federation. He advocated for the federation and reasoned that it would boost economic progress of the Africans and whites in the region.

The need by the whites to reduce the economic competition from Africans led to creation of CAF. Africans began threatening with the formation of trade unions like the African mine workers union to frustrate the labor and economic policies of the whites. Therefore Roy Welensky in Northern Rhodesia advocated for the federation to protect the industrial color bar, hence the need to exclude Africans to make independent decisions made CAF inevitable.

There was need to expand and improve the economic infrastructure in Central Africa.The whites reasoned that this would facilitate economic development of the transport and communication world boost trade and related activities of the railway line from Salisbury to Maputo was to boost development hence CAF being created.

The coming to power of the conservative party in October 1951 led to creation of CAF. The labor party that had been in power since 1945 was reluctant to pursue CAF as it wanted to decolonize African countries, but the conservatives in 1951 yielded to the demands of the white settlers to form CAF.

The recommendations of Bledsloe commission of 1938 led to CAF. The commission took three {3 } weeks carrying out a feasibility study and viability of the project. It recommended that a closer union would be wise hence was adopted in 1953.

Threats created by the Hilton Young Commission of 1938 facilitated the creation of CAF. Hilton young had proposed the merging of British Central Africa to British East Africa to boost a closer union and boost development. This idea was not liked by the whites in the central Africa who quickly hurried to create theirs independent of East Africa as the two broader areas would be huge for administration.

The role player by Sir Godfrey Huggins and Roy Welensky led to creation of CAF. These were Prime Ministers of the federation created and played vital roles in the hatching of the plans to create CAF. The CAF idea was proposed by Huggins in Salisbury and was supported by the Welensky in Southern Rhodesia hence their roles were very significant for CAF.

Qn: Account for the formation of the Central African Federation

EFFECTS OF THE CAF

The federation had both positive and negative effects as below;

Positive effects

The federation boosted independence in the region which in turn boosted the agricultural sector. The economic benefits made the people of the three territories benefits though largely to the whites.

Te federation contributed to domestic income in the three territories by 1953 the region had raised 26 million pounds and by 1956 the income jumped to 360 pounds attributed to the world increase in copper prices.

The federation attracted settlement around the mining and under centre. This increased production terms of growing crops as fertilizers to boost agriculture sector were produced by the independence.

Africans were able to get employment opportunities. These were working in the independence set up in Salisbury and mines in Zambia. The salaries and wages improved the standard of living of the people.

The federation promoted urbanization and this was attributed to the massive boom in development, the white settlement in the areas of Salisbury, Harare etc, all had skyscrapers built and modern Hotels.

The federation invested in the education sector. Primary and a few secondary schools were set up and a multi racial university in Salisbury constructed. This increased the elite class among the Africans to champion the struggle for independence.

CAF increased African representation in legislative assembly of the whites by Joshua Nkoma, Harry Nkumbula, Kamuzu Banda ,the Africans got involved in the decision making that helped them to oppose the colonial oppressive policies leading to the rise of modern nationalism.

The federation laid grounds for the emergency of radical nationalist like Robert Mugabe, Kenneth, Kamuzu Banda. These organized demonstrations in the face of colonialists like strikes and formed political parties like ANC, ZANC and these helped in the decolonization process.

The federation constructed the Kariba dam to generate power in the region ,the dam was on river Zambezi which in turn boosted independence and social welfare of the Africans, also the dam promoted tourism in the region due to the manmade lake created i.e. Kariba lake created avenues for revenue.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS/SHORTCOMINGS

The federation ignored the forces of nationalism in central Africa. The founders of the project were short sighted and failed to realize the forces of change that swept across Africa after world war II, Africans were not consulted hence weakened.

The whites adamantly ignored and denied Africans representation or participation in the federal affairs, African ideas were ignored and it was not multi racial as it had been hoped.

The federation promoted income inequality in the region between the whites and the blacks. The economic boom in the region disadvantaged the Africans due to land alienation by the white minority.

The federation led to unfair distribution of the benefits among the states and the whites. Southern Rhodesia gained more them the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. All the commercial activities and industries had headquartors in Salisbury at the expense of other regions.

The federation sharpened the color problem in the mines and industries. This increased racism and isolated Africans in all spheres of life. Africans were discriminated even in public places like hotels and given meager wages compared to the minority whites.

The federation denied Africans meaningful education. The education provided was elementary without proper qualifications for competition with their counter parts; the white minority in the region. Africans attended primary education and few crossed to secondary and university level.

There was reactive measures to the African activists, politicians were arbitrarily arrested, others were made to lose jobs and this led to the state of emergence that saw many Africans being killed. This attracted criticism and condemnation from the British liberals and international community.

The majority of the Africans were disenfranchised by the whites. Africans were denied the voting rights to have their leaders elected for representation. The African leaders like Kamuzu Banda were not allowed to sensitize their nationals about their civil rights and the federation was dominated by African chiefs who were compromised by the whites.

Africans were made to lose their land and some became squatters. This was because of the creation of the Kariba dam and the manmade lake hence displacing Africans on top of the plantations that claimed large chunks of land.

Qn: Assess the impact of the central African federation (CAF) on the Africans in central Africa

- Available introduction of CAF (3-4 lines)
- Aims (expand market, suppress Africans, and protect whites]
- Stand point
- Positive and negative impact
- Conclusion

THE COLLAPSE OF CAF IN 1963

The CAF encountered constant attacks from the outside world. It was sharply criticized and the 1958 Accra conference, 1955 Bandung conference and the UNO all condemned CAF. This weakened both the CAF at home and abroad hence it was terminated in 1963.

The public pressure from the masses in central Africa made the collapse of CAF inevitable and the British lost ground.

The growing tide of African nationalism that swept across the continent weakened CAF. Africans began to stage demonstrations given the encouragement from Ghana and this raised the mood for independence.

The influence of the Mau Mau rebellion impacted negatively on CAF. The British had just fought a costly rebellion in Kenya. This made the British to discontinue the fighting with Africans because its economic muscle had been weakened.

The failure of the East African federation led to the collapse of CAF. The East African territories met opposition from the cultural leaders like Buganda which had semi – autonomous powers.

The role of the Monckton Commission recommended the dissolution of CAF. The commission suggested the revision of the federal constitution that allowed every state to secede and run its affairs. This compelled Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to manage their affairs by December 1963 and got independence in 1964.

The role of Butler was also a potent factor in the collapse of the federation. He was officially sent by the British colonial official to dismantle and dissolve CAF in 1963.

The arrogance of the federation leaders prompted the collapse of the project. Roy Welensky reasoned that Africans were horses and the whites were riders, Huggins commented that African ideas were not properly guided in the federation Parliament. This annoyed the Africans to oppose the federation.

Other factors include;

- Rise of African nationalism
- Unfair representation of Africans in the LEGCO of 8 Vs 14
- Economic disparity between Africans and whites
- The racist policies of the whites and color bar
- Impact of distribution of the benefits among the federation states e.g. Indians in Salisbury, copper exploited in Zambia and cheap labor from Nyasaland.
- The rise of African elites in British central Africa e.g. Kamuza Banda, Kenneth, Kawunda, Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo etc.
- Pressure from the common wealth of Nations from 1959
- The rise of Macmillan as British Prime Minister in 1959 and his inspirational speech in African political struggles
- The secession of Nyasaland and later Northern Rhodesia

- Imposition of the federation on Africans by whites without consultation led to collapse
- NB: All other negative consequences led to the collapse

NATIONALISM IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) since 1980 was one of the settler colonies of Britain. It was inhabited by a large number of whites who invested in the area and generated a lot of revenue. The area was composed of the shone and Ndebele tribes.

The nationalists who struggled for the independence in southern Rhodesia included; Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Rev. Sithole Ndyabangi, Harry Nkumbula etc.

Political parties included the National Democratic Party (NDP), Zimbabwe African peoples union (ZAPU), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) until 1965 when UDI government was declared by Ian Smith to dominate Africans and suffocate their road to independence.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UDI 1965-1980

The unilateral Declaration of independence was a rebellious government of the White founded by Ian Smith contrary to the British Colonial government in London.

UDI came shortly after the collapse of CAF in 1963 and the independence of Malawi and Zambia in 1964 respectively.

Qns:

1. **Account for the formation of the UDI in 1965 in Southern Rhodesia**
2. **Examine the factors that led to the proclamation of UDI in Southern Rhodesia**

The factors for the establishment of UDI include;

The conflicting attitude of the British government and the minority whites in Southern Rhodesia. Britain was preparing for decolonization of the 3 territories in Central Africa and this was rejected by the minority whites. Britain wanted to bring democratic government to involve Africans and this scared Ian Smith to set up the UDI to block Africans.

The internal self government given to the whites laid a foundation for UDI. The British government appeased the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia and gave them powers e.g. political, legislative, collecting taxes, army and police. These privileges convinced Smith to set up a government not to get aid from Britain.

The African native population was considered inferior and unable to manage political affairs. This made the white settlers to become arrogant and decided to dominate Africans not to empower them hence UDI.

The fear of the growing African nationalism contributed to the UDI government. Africans had started to demand for self rule in the 1960's due to wind of change and negative CAF policies, Africans had begun forming political parties like NDP and ZAPU by Joshua Nkomo. This made the minority white to form UDI and prevent the wave of nationalism.

The collapse of CAF in 1963 paved way for UDI. The CAF project lost momentum by 1963 and made Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to get independence in 1964, this influenced the blacks in Southern Rhodesia to become active politically i.e. demonstrations and strikes. This quickly made Ian to declare UDI to check African activities.

The economic potential of Southern Rhodesia made the creation of UDI inevitable as the whites had got the fertile areas and established the land law thereby controlling the arable land.

Plantations had been set up comprising of tobacco, wheat and corn. The industries had been set up and there was booming trade, the area had minerals e.g. nickel, chrome. This necessitated the grip of the white minority of 1965.

The rise of the Rhodesia front party (RFP) formed in 1952 paved way for UDI. This was a party for the whites and aimed at promoting rights of white minority, block the Africans like denying voting rights and civil liberties e.g. association and speech. Ian Smith became the head of the party and set up the UDI in 1965.

The character and personality of Ian Smith led to establishment of UDI. Smith had become a Prime Minister in April 1964 and became conservative, reactionary and rebellious. He believed that Africans were primitive for independence and would carry out chaos similar to Congo in 1960. Therefore African proposals were turned down to set up UDI in 1965.

The whites were inspired by the American war against Britain between1776-1783. This was an inspiration because the white settlers defeated the British colonial government.

Therefore Ian Smith under the RFP felt the need to duplicate the American experience by establishing the UDI to be independent of Britain.

The formation of OAU in 1963 scared the whites to establish UDI in 1965. The OAU in its summit in Cairo passed a resolution to fight the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia, it recognized the nationalists like Joshua Nkomo and extended support. This quickly made Ian Smith to establish UDI and prevent further activities of OAU.

The activities of the labor party under Wilson Harold led to the formation of UDI. Harold was liberal and always held discussions aimed at democratic governance in Southern Rhodesia. This was unacceptable by the white minority dominated by suppressive, oppressive and dictatorial leaders hence UDI.

The incompetence and short sightedness of the British government led to creation of UDI. The British government gave a lot of powers to the whites i.e. self government, independent security force, powers to collect taxes and appoint representatives in the LEGCO. This strengthened the whites under Ian Smith and Britain could not employ a military approach to stop it.

The impact of World War II on Britain also favored the creation of UDI. The war weakened the economic muscle of Britain and made it practically incapable to sustain colonies, from 1945, it began granting reforms aimed at independence. This created a soft landing for Smith as Britain did not have interest in African colonies.

The influence of the triumvirate alliance led to creation of UDI. Ian Smith was convinced by his conservative friends like Don Salazar and Verwoed of Portugal and South Africa respectively. They agreed to stay in Africa and create racist empires by jointly suppressing African countries. This made UDI government inevitable.

The military strength of the white government in Southern Rhodesia favored the UDI establishment. They had modern fighting weapons like fighter planes, bombers and armored cars. This gave Ian Smith confidence and capability to prevail over the Africans hence UDI.

Account for survival of UDI in southern Rhodesia

The reasons include the following;

- The military strength of the UDI government contributed to its long survival. The UDI had well –established and autonomous security force and army .It was well equipped and well trained thus crushed the African resistance mercilessly.

- The economic strength of Ian smith's government contributed to the survival of UDI. The economic force could not be reckoned with, the minority whites had invested, had monopoly of commercial sector and the minerals.
  This gave smith the strength to finance the war against African freedom fighters.

- The establishment of the triumvirate alliance also delayed the independence of southern Rhodesia. The alliance was composed of the minority dictatorial leaders of Don .Salazar, Ian smith and Hendrick Verwoerd.
  These agreed to crush African resistance and shared military intelligence that suffocated Africa interests.

- Existence of cold war political arrangement enabled UDI survival
- The capitalist world through NATO was led by USA to finance the UDI government. The socialists also assisted the African nationalists. It is however true that the economic strength of the capitalist weakened the Africans and delayed their independence.

- The incompetence and reluctance of the British government undermined the independence struggles.
- The British colonial government in London had empowered the Ian smith's government and the minority whites to collect taxes, established an army

and make laws. This made it impossible for Britain to employ its military might on a strong UDI government.

- The delayed independence of the neighboring countries guaranteed the existence of UDI. Countries like Angola and Mozambique were still under colonial denomination and couldn't extend assistance due internal problems, the military bases couldn't also train in the neighboring countries hence survival of UDI.

- The presence of a large white settler community in southern Rhodesia enabled UDI to stay for long. The settlers enjoyed political and economic privileges, owned big chunks of land, had political rights and positions in the government hence they willingly supported the UDI government to survive for long.

- The establishment of the protected societies (reserves) by Ian smith prolonged his government .This was to protect African settlement and denied them socializing activities that would make them mount pressure on the whites.

- The division among the nationalists in southern Rhodesia led to the survival of UDI. The Zimbabwe African national union (ZANU) was composed of the shone people, ZAPU was dominated by the Ndebele. This undermined unity and luck of common strategy for independence.

- The formation of CAF in 1953 also consolidated the ground for UDI stay for long. The federation had succeeded in suppressing Africans, arrested leaders and even banning political parties. This very ground was used smiths' government to exploit Africans and survival for long.

- The brutal activities of the UDI government weakened Africans and hence it survived. The African nationalists were imprisoned like Robert Gabriel

Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. The imprisonment was a setback in the leadership structure leading to the delay of independence.

- The adoption of different strategies by the nationalists led to the survival of UDI. Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU was a moderate and non violent, ZANU of reverend Sithole and Mugabe even split from ZAPU in 1963 to form ZANU as they were radicals. Failure to have unified strategy gave UDI a soft landing.

- The double standards of UNO worked against the independence. The UN general assembly condemned the racist government of smith, but didn't take practical measures against it, even the sanctions imposed were weak and also some members of UNO secretly supported the regime due to economic interests.

- Weaknesses of the OAU also undermined the African struggle in the face of UDI. OAU lacked a strong military force to assist the freedom fighters and some OAU members like Malawi under Kamuzu Banda secretly collaborated with the racist regime.

- The unfavorable geographical set up of Zimbabwe also delayed her independence. It was covered by grasslands and no thick forests that would facilitate a guerrilla war fare. The military wings of the ZIPRA and ZANLA couldn't operate effectively and were always attacked by the UDI government.

- The occurrence of natural epidemic in Southern Rhodesia account for the delay of independence. In 1973, Zimbabwe was attacked by the cholera epidemic that hit the military forces of nationalists and were demoralized. This was accompanied lack of effective medical care leading to death of soldiers.

- Mugabe's communism didn't have a large appeal among the large population of Zimbabwe. The communist ideology threatened most people in the country like the church and drifted way supporters in the early stages of African struggles.

REASONS FOR THE COLLAPSE OF UDI
(FACTORS FOR THE SUCCESS OF ZIMBABWE INDEPENDENCE 1980)

- The cooperation of ZAPU and ZANU in the 1970s strengthened their struggle.

- The cardinal role of ZANU and its military wing ZANLA that applied the violent methods to weaken the UDI regime

- The charismatic leadership provided by Robert Gabriel Mugabe
- The positive role of Zimbabwean exiles who solicited for political support abroad to fund the struggle.

- The role of other nationalists like Sithole and Joshua Nkomo
- The diffused ethnicity of shone and the Ndebele.

- The role of the traditional Shona spiritual leaders generated confidence among the fighters of ZANU.

- The departure of many white settlers from Zimbabwe due to increased African resistance.
- The independence of the neighboring countries of Tanzania, Malawi Mozambique provided the external bases for ZANLA

- The collapse of the triumvirate alliance made even South Africa to change its strategy i.e. by 1975; South Africa withdrew the support from Ian smith.

- The rise to power of the British Prime Minister Margret Thatcher in 1979 who called for the cease fire agreement, organized the Lancaster conference of all the races etc.
- The role of ZAPU and its military wing ZIPRA

- The numerical advantage of the Africans that overwhelmed the few minority whites

- The economic decline of the UDI government due to closure of the white investment

- The Lisbon coup of 1974 that enabled the Portuguese colonies get independence and isolate UDI government.

- The communist support given to the ZANU like USSR, China and Czechoslovakia

- Role of the common wealth council of churches that gave the nationalists funds
- Role of OAU
- Role of UNO
- The role of President Jimmy Carter of the United States who organized for the Rhodesia conference and Geneva 1976.

Qn

To what extent was the UDI an obstacle to the independence of Zimbabwe?

The UDI was established by Ian smith in 1965 as a rebellious government against the British colonial government. It was set up after the collapse of the CAF established in 1953.

The role of UDI is as below:

- The military strength of UDI that crushed Africans.
- The economic monopoly of the UDI government.
- The UDI established the reserves to confine the Africans.
- Made the Africans to collaborate with them e.g Nkomo when he was in the LEGCO
- Persecuted and imprisoned the Africans like Mugabe and Nkomo
- Denied Africans voting rights
- Formed the triumvirate alliance to suppress Africans.
- Created links with USA to weaken African resistance.
- Violated international negotiation against ceasefire
- Carried out assassination on Africans e.g Herbert Chitepo in 1975(chair person of ZANU)
- Provided elementary education to Africans limiting their ability to provide able leadership.
- Banned the political party activism.

Question

To what extent was Zimbabwe African national union (ZANU) responsible for the collapse of the white minority rule in southern Rhodesia by 1980?

ZANU was formed in 1963 by reverend sithole as the president and Robert Mugabe as the general secretary after breaking away from ZAPU that was non - violent.

The contribution of ZANU is as below:

- ZANU carried out guerilla war attacks and raids on white plantation and government installations.
- ZANU-Pf decampaigned the UDI and Ian smith's regime.
- The party established a military wing ZANLA that waged war on the UDI in 1966.
- The party recruited and trained the fighters to strengthen African struggle.

- ZANU opened up external bases in Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique.
- ZANU solicited for assistance from the communist countries like china and USSR.
- ZANU petitioned the government of Ian smith to the UN to intervene in the affairs of southern Rhodesia.
- The party sought recognition from the OAU
- The party created a youth wing intended to spear head nationalism at the grassroots
- Provided charismatic and able leadership like Robert Mugabe
- ZANU collaborated with ZAPU of Joshua Nkomo to form a patriotic front in 1976.
- The party recruited women in the struggle as fighters, nurses and spies.
- ZANU won the support of the shona traditional leaders that inspired the confidence among the nationals.
- Established alliance with FRELIMO which laid strong military strategies
- Took part in the pre-independence discussions with the regime of Ian Smith e.g the London constitutional conference of 1980.
- ZANU patriotic Front received the instruments of independence with Mugabe as the first prime minister and later president.

THE ROLE OF ROBERT MUGABE

He was born in 1924 and attended education up to the University of London where he acquired a BSC degree. He returned to southern Rhodesia in 1959 for active politics and he practiced teaching as his profession before retiring.

Mugabe contributed in the struggle for independence in the following ways:

- Mugabe worked as general secretary of the radical ZANU and mounted pressure on Ian smith's government in the 1960s
- Mugabe condemned the UDI government while in prison through his deputies to wage a war against the racist regime of UDI.
- He solicited assistance from the communist countries like USSR and CHINA such as training and weapon.
- Mugabe recruited the disgruntled jobless and educated youth into the struggle.
- Solicited assistance and won the recognition of the OAU and UNO.
- He gave able and charismatic leadership to the struggle by even uniting the people i.e. Shona and Ndebele.
- Recruited the women into the ranks of ZANU and ZANLA to provide food, treatment for the wounded and espionage.
- He influenced the creation of the youth wings that inspired nationalistic sentiment among people.
- Mugabe asked for the British government to intervene and condemn the minority government.
- Mugabe led ZANU-PF to the pre –independence elections which led to the party landslide victory with majority seats.
- He petitioned the Ian smith's government to the UN Security Council to recognize the issue of Zimbabwe.
- Mugabe made a coalition government with ZAPU to have ZANU-PF resolve the conflict.
- Mugabe accepted the instrument of power as a prime ministers for Zimbabwe independence on 27th 1980.